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The New York Times
Former allies torment Gingrich
8-page pullout



MacLaine's falling 'Star'

Arts & Entertainment, Page 5



Kipketer does it again

Sports, Page 10

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Bulgarian Jews honor their rescuers

A rabbi stands between two priests in Kyustendil yesterday at a memorial ceremony honoring those who saved Bulgaria's 50,000 Jews from deportation by the Nazis. In March 1943, a delegation of five Bulgarians from Kyustendil, led by the speaker of parliament Dimitar Peshev, came to Sofia to appeal against the deportations. The subsequent protest, from parliamentarians, the Orthodox Church and ordinary Bulgarians, helped King Boris III resist the German pressure.

Palestinians reject pullback

By JON IMMANUEL and DAVID MAKOVSKY

Palestinian representatives last night rejected the scope of the planned Israeli redeployment in the West Bank, in a meeting between Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian Authority Secretary-General Mahmoud Abbas in Jerusalem that ended in an atmosphere of crisis.

Apart from rejecting the extent of the redeployment, the Palestinians claimed they should have been consulted before the decision was made.

The meeting was dominated by Palestinian concern over recent Israeli actions and growing calls to suspend talks until the actions are reversed.

Levy replied to Abbas's protest by saying the Palestinians should "lower [their] expectations." The disagreements during the meeting ranged from Har Homa, the extent of last week's 9 percent pullback decision, and the closing of four Palestinian offices in Jerusalem.

"There is no reason to paint everything in rosy colors," Levy told reporters after the session at a Jerusalem hotel. He said the sides have different positions "based upon different interpretations" put forward by their respective legal advisers. Foreign Ministry spokesman Aviv Shinar characterized the meeting as "not easy."

Immediately after the meeting the Palestinian representatives left for Gaza to report to PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, who returned from an overnight visit to Jordan calling the latest Israeli moves "conspiracies and tricks."

Meanwhile, the prime minister's spokesman, Shai Bazak, denied remarks by Likud MKs who said after meeting with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that he had promised work would start at Har Homa next Sunday. "He said he deliberately did not want to name a date, except to say that it will start soon," said Bazak.

When Abbas asked for Israel to reconsider the construction on Har Homa, Levy rejected this. He noted Israel's position remains that there is nothing in the Oslo Accords which forbids Israeli construction anywhere during the interim period, let alone in Jerusalem.

Regarding the scope of the 9 percent pullback, Abbas complained the figure is way too low. Here again, Levy pointed out that the scope of the different pullbacks is to be decided by Israel alone, and is not a subject of negotiation with the Palestinians. The foreign minister cited a January letter from then secretary of state Warren Christopher to back up the point.

A third difference between the two sides related to Israel's closing of four Palestinian offices in eastern Jerusalem. While the Palestinians acknowledge that they are not permitted by Oslo to have PA offices in the city, they deny that these four offices are PA offices. US officials have questioned whether the fact the PA funds the four offices makes them official, or whether this is the kind of grant money that Israeli non-profit bodies receive as well.

The two sides did agree that talks on the final disposition of the territories would resume, as scheduled, on March 17.

Levy and Abbas head the steering committee that supervises nine parallel committees meeting on issues of substance. There has been no breakthrough by any of these panels. On the issue of safe passage between Gaza and the West Bank, the two

Pullback Phase I

sides have formulated a joint paper, although differences remain.

Included in yesterday's meeting on the Israeli side were: Levy, Foreign Ministry Director-General Eytan Ben-Zur, cabinet secretary Danny Naveh, Levy aide Ya'acov Bardugo, and OC Planning Branch Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz.

On the Palestinian side were: Abbas, Palestinian negotiators Saeb Erekat and Hassan Asfour, and Gaza Preventive Security chief Mohammed Dahlan.

In Gaza yesterday, a meeting of all political groups established a joint PLO-Islamic committee to resist settlement and land expropriation, amid veiled warnings of violence. The meeting was arranged by the Islamic Committee Against Settlements, one of the four offices ordered closed in Jerusalem, and the PA.

The delegates at the three-hour meeting decided that a Higher National Islamic Committee would

we must reassess a peace process in which Israel thinks it is above the law."

He demanded that the US treat Israel the way it used to treat South Africa and Yugoslavia. "If Israel is wrong, sanctions should be imposed. We want America to stand with us to push forward the peace process."

Abdel-Rahman, who recently called Har Homa a fireball, said again it could lead to an explosion. Yesterday, Pope John Paul II also

Can the US smooth over the gaps? Page 3

criticized Israeli actions in Jerusalem, calling them "grave" and implying that Israel would share responsibility for the consequences.

The Arab media and Iran joined in the attack on Friday's US veto of the UN Security Council resolution on Har Homa. While Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is in Washington and his government has counselled non-violence, the opposition Al-Wafd newspaper said the US veto was an invitation to violence.



Foreign Minister David Levy (left) meets yesterday with PA chief negotiator Mahmoud Abbas in a Jerusalem hotel.

set up joint subcommittees in all the districts of Gaza and the West Bank. Each subcommittee would include one delegate from each faction. This would establish ongoing anti-Israel cooperation for the first time between Hamas and the PA.

"All means should be considered," PA cabinet secretary Ahmed Abdel-Rahman told the meeting. "All Palestinians should be invited to confront settlements. Israel is not dealing with us as normal people. Israel is humiliating our people and

A Saudi-owned newspaper, Al-Hayat, urged Arab countries to boycott American products, including weapons. Iranian leader Ali Khamenei said in a speech televised nationwide that the veto showed America's "global arrogance."

Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati told reporters on a visit to Syria the veto "means that the Palestinians should use stones, rocks, and explosives to stop the attack against its land and to prevent the Judaization of Jerusalem."

PM heads to Russia

By STEVE RODAN and Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu leaves today for a 48-hour visit to Russia, marking his first trip to the country since taking office.

The visit will also mark the first meeting between Netanyahu and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Netanyahu will also hold meetings with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov, and Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov. Both Chernomyrdin and Luzhkov are considered potential successors to Yeltsin.

High on Netanyahu's agenda is expected to be the role of Russian technology in Iran's efforts to adapt an SS-4 missile, which has a range to hit Israel. In a briefing for Russian-speaking journalists yesterday, Netanyahu said he expects to raise the problem of Islamic militancy, representatives from eight Russian immigrant publications to accompany Netanyahu. In Moscow, Netanyahu will also pay a visit to the main synagogue, where he will meet members of the Jewish community. On Wednesday, Netanyahu will visit the Petersberg and the famed Terminiye Museum before returning home.

Netanyahu expects a warm welcome in Moscow. Domestic troubles notwithstanding, Russian officials say they are excited over his visit and hope the prime minister will agree to a more active Russian role in the Middle East

peace process. "With this government, we have a leadership that recognizes the benefits of Israeli-Russian cooperation in many fields, including the peace process," a senior Russian diplomat said.

Diplomatic sources in Moscow say Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky's visit to Russia in January was a resounding success that clearly paved the way for Netanyahu's trip.

"Sharansky's visit opened a new era," the senior diplomat said. "His visit to his prison was necessary to show that the old Soviet Union and its policies are dead and a new relationship is possible."

Israeli-Russian trade has grown sharply in the last four years, from \$44 million in 1992 to \$350 million in 1996. Israeli exports last year accounted for \$250 million. Currently, Elbit is trying to conclude a \$60 million deal to provide medical equipment to Russia.

A more sensitive area for Netanyahu, however, will be deciding whether Israel will pursue a strategic relationship with Moscow. In 1995, the two countries signed a defense memorandum that both Israeli and Russian officials acknowledge has virtually been ignored.

Israel's goal is to promote joint ventures in defense contracts. Several projects are stuck because Moscow has blocked deals or Israeli participation in contracts for third countries, such as the upgrading of about 3,500 MIG-21 fighters sold by the former Soviet

Union around the world. One source said Yeltsin himself banned defense cooperation with Israel following his meeting with prime minister Yitzhak Rabin in September 1995. Yeltsin agreed with Rabin's proposals for defense industry cooperation, but stressed that Moscow sees this as strategic.

As a result, Yeltsin asked that Israel sign a comprehensive agreement on strategic cooperation similar to that signed with the US. Rabin refused.

But Russian diplomats see Israel's asset as a strategic partner that can influence the US. Regarding the expansion of NATO, a US proposal sharply opposed by Moscow, Russian diplomats are urging Israelis to lobby the Clinton administration and Congress against the idea, saying it will increase tensions in the Middle East.

A defense relationship would also include another deal pending: one between Israel and China for the upgrade of the Ilyushin-76 early-warning aircraft. Russia and Israel are partners in the upgrade, but Russian officials are said to be upset that Israel signed a deal with China without Moscow's input.

Russian diplomats say they expect Moscow to agree to release the plane for modernization by Israel. Under the contract, IAI subsidiary Elta Electronics Industries would provide the Phalcon radar and advanced electronic subsystems. Brief, Moscow, would enlarge the plane to accommodate the Israeli upgrade.

Sources: Coalition not in danger

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

There is no real danger to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government, senior coalition sources said yesterday, following Netanyahu's meetings with "rebel" MKs from the Likud and coalition factions.

The sources said that apart from MKs Ze'ev Begin and Uzi Landau, who know they will be returned to the Knesset if there are new elections, most of the "rebel" MKs are not as confident of being reelected and will therefore prefer

Coalition Crisis

to support the government. These include Moshe Peled of Tsomet and Michael Kleiner of Geshet, who got reserved places on the Knesset list via agreements with their factions made with the Likud.

Netanyahu's steamroller tactics worked. At the end of the day, only four of the eight MKs who had threatened to vote against him

Revamped direct election law gains momentum, Page 2

in next week's no-confidence motion remained firm: Begin and Landau, and the National Religious Party's Hanan Porat and Zvi Hendel.

Netanyahu promised the

Continued on Page 2

New NRP-Shas dispute rages over... Purim costumes

Reports that one of the most popular Purim costumes this year is Shas's spiritual leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef have become the source of a new dispute between Shas and the National Religious Party.

Shas is quite pleased at the prospect of lots of little Yosefs appearing around the country's streets delivering food gifts to their friends, claiming this means

that its leader has become a role model for the nation's youth.

But NRP director-general Zevulun Orlev yesterday called on the public, and the religious public, in particular "not to be swept up by cheap popular trends and not to dress up as Rabbi Ovadia Yosef on Purim."

Orlev explained that doing so "insults the honor of rabbis and Torah scholars and make them subjects of ridicule." He said maintaining the honor of Torah leaders is in the interest of all the religious parties and the entire religious community.

Yehuda Avidan, an aide to Shas leader Aryeh Deri, said he

believes Orlev's response is the result of "jealousy and fear that people are drawn to Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, not a desire to protect his honor."

Avidan said Orlev had not come out against children dressing up as Aaron the Priest, Moses, King David, Mordechai, or other figures from the Bible or Jewish tradition.

"Such costumes evoke holiness and purity, and that's why we relate positively to the popularity of dressing up like Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, as someone to emulate. We welcome the fact that there is a greater demand for these costumes than for ninjas, Spiderman, and such," Avidan said. (Itm)

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NEWS

in brief

Har-Shefi trial delayed by two weeks

The trial of Margalit Har-Shefi of Beit El, who is indicted for failing to prevent the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and abetting a crime, will begin on March 24, the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court ruled yesterday.

Har-Shefi had asked for a two-month delay, saying she needed to find an attorney and needed time to study the evidence against her. But the judge only agreed to a two-week delay, saying the evidence had been handed over two months ago, which was enough time for her to prepare a defense.

Har-Shefi, a former girlfriend of Rabin's assassin Yigal Amir, faces a maximum sentence of five years.



Margalit Har-Shefi
(Reuters)

Levy cancels US trip

Foreign Minister David Levy cancelled his trip to the US yesterday just hours before he was to depart. The cancellation is seen as due to the unstable coalition situation, as Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu apparently believes it politically unwise for both of them to be out of the country at the same time. Netanyahu leaves today for a two-day trip to Russia. Levy was scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

David Makovsky

Elderly woman killed at crosswalk

An 81-year-old woman, Tova Abramovich, was hit by a car and killed yesterday while crossing the street at a crosswalk at the corner of Tel Aviv's Yarkon and Yordei Hasira streets. The driver of the car said he did not see her step out into the street.

Itim

Rabbis demand access to prophets' graves

Representatives of the Committee for Holy Places met yesterday with OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, in an attempt to secure access for Jewish worshippers to the graves of two biblical prophets, Nathan and Gad, that are located in Halhoul. According to committee spokesman Yosef Loipher, three Jerusalem rabbis met with Dayan to impress upon him the importance of allowing the "thousands" of Jews who visit there access to the sites.

Dayan promised the rabbis to forward a proposal to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, whereby a correction would be made to the redeployment arrangements that would leave some 300 meters near the graves in Halhoul in Area B, under Israeli security control.

Margot Dudkevitch

Girl dies in fall down sewage shaft

A six-year-old girl from Turan, a village in the Upper Galilee, was killed yesterday afternoon when she fell down a sewage shaft. Aya Dahia was playing with friends in the backyard of relatives in the village, when she suddenly fell down the seven-meter-deep shaft. Her friends alerted adults, who pulled her out and brought her to the local health fund office. The doctor there alerted a Magen David Adom team, which tried to resuscitate her but finally declared her dead.

Police said they were investigating whether the owners of the home were negligent in leaving the shaft open. Police also plan to ask the Nazareth Magistrate's Court to allow an autopsy.

Itim

COALITION

Continued from Page 1

"rebels" that bulldozers would start working on Jerusalem's Har Homa on Sunday, that the Palestinian Authority offices in east Jerusalem would be shut down, and that two new houses would be built in Hebron's Jewish quarter. Peled, who changed his mind and decided to support Netanyahu after meeting with him yesterday, said he was persuaded the prime minister was sincere in his promises.

Kleiner, however, said he heard "very pleasant things, but the prime minister will be judged by his actions, not by his promises."

Coalition chairman MK Michael Eitan criticized the MKs threatening to vote against Netanyahu. "What do they want, new elections? A change of government? If MK Yossi Sarid is put in charge of settlements, will they be happy then? They have no other option," he stated.

"There are some cowards in the Knesset, who want to bring about the prime minister's resignation without new elections," Eitan said.

With deep sorrow, we mourn the passing of our beloved

GERTIE GANTOVNIK ז"ל

Her husband: Bok Gantovnik
Children: Cheryl & Richard, Shavel-Zion
Shira, Rina & Tanya
Marcelle & Meir Dray
Ben, Tomer & Michal
Harris & Dana Gantovnik
Mor & Bar

Sister: Lilian Segall
Brother: Simon Lonstein
Family and Friends

The funeral will take place today
at the New Cemetery, Ra'anana, at 1:00 p.m.

In deep sorrow we mourn the passing of our dear friend

GERTIE GANTOVNIK

Families: Basker Ostrin
Bernstein Steingold
Hare

With deep sorrow and pain, we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father, brother and grandfather

Rabbi IRWIN ISAACSON ז"ל

The funeral will take place today, Monday, March 10 at approximately 4:15 p.m. at the Eretz Hachaim Cemetery (Yeshiva University section) in Beit Shמש (1 1/2 hours after the arrival of TWA flight no. 884).

Wife: Esther Isaacson
Son: Yisrael and Janice Isaacson
Son: Joel, Judith, Michal, Elan Isaacson
Daughter: Hasida, Phil, Avi, Tova, Tali, Sarit Toitzis
Brother: Henry Isaacson, Gusie and Mordy Solny
Rose and Aron Klein, Marie and George Karonsky

Shiva at the home of Joel Isaacson, 9/28 Skolnick, Rehovot (08-949-1586).

Our heartfelt sympathy to our colleagues

Feigle and Rubin Zimmerman

on the passing of their beloved mother and mother-in-law

FREDA YAMPOLSKI ז"ל

The Menachem Begin
Heritage Foundation

Report: PM discussed national unity

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu raised the issue of a unity government at his meeting with Labor chairman Shimon Peres last Friday, Channel 1 reported last night. This, despite both men's denials of having discussed the matter.

Peres reportedly replied "this is not the time to discuss it."

Peres is apparently willing to consider the possibility after the conclusion of the investigation into the Bar-On Affair.

Likud sources said Netanyahu may have decided already that he needs a unity government before starting on the final status talks with the Palestinians.

Netanyahu has been using the option of a national unity government to bring "rebel"

coalition members back in line since last Friday. Netanyahu said he would consider asking Labor to join in a unity government if he has no choice, following the threats of his opponents in the Likud and coalition to vote against him in the no-confidence motion in the Knesset.

But Peres said yesterday that a unity government "is not on the agenda," stressing that the outcome of the Bar-On Affair investigation may lead to new elections.

Peres said Labor will vote no-confidence in the government over the prime minister's functioning, but not about the peace process. If the Knesset votes about the peace process, then Labor will support Netanyahu, he said.

Labor MKs Ehud Barak, Yossi Beilin and Ephraim Sneh yesterday found themselves

on the same side of the fence, as all three, who are running for Labor's leadership, fiercely opposed forming a national unity government.

Beilin, who until recently supported a unity government, said "I don't think any of us can consider this option seriously today. What, after the hoodlum spectacle and attack on Labor we saw at the Likud's central committee, and in view of the police investigation [into the Bar-On Affair], it's just not serious."

Barak said "there is no place to discuss a unity government. This government, under Netanyahu's leadership, is like a sinking ship."

Sneh said "Labor is not Netanyahu's distress alarm button, to be pressed every time he is in trouble, as a way of threatening his

internal opponents."

Beilin and other leading MKs, alarmed that Peres may be cooking up a unity government with Netanyahu, called an urgent meeting of Labor's Knesset faction today to push for an unequivocal decision against a unity government.

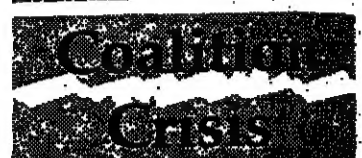
On the Likud's side, both Finance Minister Dan Meridor and National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon yesterday supported forming a unity government in view of the crucial decisions facing the government in the near future.

Sharon and Barak met secretly in Sharon's Tel Aviv office a few days ago, but neither would say what they discussed, or whether Sharon tried to persuade Barak to drop his objection to a unity government.

Revamped direct election law gaining momentum

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE initiative to change the direct election law, which would enable sacking the prime minister with a 61-MK majority, without dispersing the Knesset and holding general elections, is gaining momentum.



MKs from both the Likud and the opposition are calling to change the law, in view of the coalition crisis and the possibility that Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu might be toppled by a no-confidence vote. At present, only a majority of at least 80 MKs can vote the prime minister out of office and bring about new elections only for prime minister.

The MKs in favor of changing the law say that even if the government must be changed, it doesn't mean the Knesset should be replaced as well, and call for the separation of these two issues.

MK Michael Kleiner of Gesher, head of the 20 MKs forming the Eretz Yisrael Front opposing Netanyahu's policies from within the coalition, is convening the group today to promote legislation enabling toppling the government with a majority of 61, without dispersing the Knesset.

MKs Ehud Barak of Labor and David Re'em of the Likud have also called for a change in the law. Barak said the law must be changed so that in cases of an extreme public sink 61 MKs could fire the prime minister without sending the Knesset home as well.

National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon yesterday joined the initiative, coming out against the direct election system.

COMMENT

Topsy-turvy political scene perfect for Adar

By HERS KENON

Today marks the beginning of the Hebrew month of Adar II, the month of Purim; a month that has as its theme the idea that "everything is turned on its head."

The current political situation seems tailor-made for Adar. Consider the following:

- The Knesset's 11 Arab MKs may very well prop up the "National Camp's" government. Labor MK Nawaf Massalha, speaking for the Arab MKs, said they will provide a "safety net" for the Netanyahu government.

- In an interview with Arutz 7, no less, Massalha said that, "We support Netanyahu's moves to further the peace process, and it is inconceivable that we would vote against him, since he is walking in the path of peace."

- No one on the right has been yelling — as they did while in the opposition — that the government is "illegitimate" because it is being propped up by Arab MKs.

- Ariel Sharon and Shimon Peres, the most unlikely of bedfellows, are pushing for a national unity government.

- Ze'ev Begin, the once-coddled Likud prince and son of mythic Likud leader Menachem Begin, is booed and called a traitor at a Likud Central Committee

meeting.

- Begin says he has lost confidence in the Likud prime minister, and will vote against him. Netanyahu doesn't even summon Begin to a meeting to try changing his mind, apparently believing Begin to be beyond hope.

- The decision to cede 9 percent of Eretz Yisrael to the Palestinian Authority is being described in the media and by government spokesmen as a "pe'ima," roughly translated as "beat," or "pulsation." The term is positive, life giving. Hearts beat, springs of water — at least in Hebrew — pulsate. The word "withdrawal" is rarely used.

- Almost a third of the coalition, the Eretz Yisrael Front, has essentially turned itself into the opposition. Among its members are Uzi Landau, head of the Knesset's Influential Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.

- Moledet's Benny Elon, and Meretz's Yossi Sarid, two men who rarely see eye to eye, will most likely both vote to bring down the government when the no-confidence vote is submitted to the Knesset.

- The "Peace Camp," including Labor's Yossi Beilin and Uzi Barak, sees that the Netanyahu government is carrying out the Labor-initiated Oslo Accords, but

cannot say one good word in defense of these moves.

- Netanyahu, the "National Camp's" prime minister, finds himself under fire more from the Right than from the Left.

- The prime minister, increasingly isolated in his own cabinet, now counts old nemesis David Levy among his key supporters.

- Labor MKs charge that Netanyahu is leaving for Russia a day earlier than planned, in order to avoid a no-confidence vote in the Knesset. For Netanyahu, a trip to sunny Russia looks almost like a respite.

- Former chief of general staff Ehud Barak does not want to be defense minister in a national unity government, since it would mean the more senior foreign minister's post would go to Labor rival Peres. A national unity government would postpone Peres's retirement, something Barak is eagerly awaiting.

- The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, which worked day and night to ensure the victory of a candidate who would be "good for the Jews," calls for coalition partners to leave the government and bring down Netanyahu.

- The justice minister is under police investigation.

- The American ambassador,

who proudly and openly identifies as a Jew, is called a "Jew-boy" in Israel, and the hurler of the epithet is Moledet MK Rehavam Ze'evi.

"Venahafoch hu!" Thousands of grade-school children will begin singing it today, in preparation for Purim: Venahafoch hu — everything is turned upside down.

Their teachers need not point them in the direction of the political machinations in ancient Persia — a look at the day's headlines proves the point just fine.

IDF soldier lightly wounded in Lebanon

By DAVID RUDGE

An IDF soldier was lightly wounded when his tank was hit during heavy exchanges in south Lebanon yesterday.

Later in the afternoon, IAF warplanes struck at Hizbullah targets north of the zone for the second time in as many days. All planes returned safely to base.

The incidents began around 1 p.m., when Hizbullah gunmen opened fire with a barrage of mortars and anti-tank missiles at an IDF Merkava tank on operational duties.

The tank, which was apparently positioned near the IDF's Rehan outpost, in the northeastern sector of the security zone, returned fire, with the support of IDF artillery.

During the exchanges, the tank was damaged and a member of the crew was lightly wounded in his right hand. The tank crew continued fighting.

The wounded soldier was evacuated by helicopter to Safed's Rebecca Sieff Hospital about an hour later, when the fighting died down.

Deputy hospital director Dr. Colin Shapiro said the soldier had undergone surgery for shrapnel wounds and his condition was good.

A few hours afterwards, Hizbullah gunmen launched a long-range mortar attack on a South Lebanese Army outpost in the Jezzeine enclave, north of the security zone. IDF and SLA gunners returned fire. There were no casualties.

Around the same time, IAF jets struck at Hizbullah targets east of Jezzeine. Reports from Lebanon said two warplanes fired six rockets at targets near Mashghara village, a Hizbullah-controlled area in the Iklim al-Toufah region.

There were no immediate reports of any casualties or damage from the air strike, which followed a similar raid on Hizbullah targets in the J'ba'a area, north of the zone, on Saturday.

The air raid on Saturday followed heavy fighting earlier which was also concentrated around the Rehan-Ishiyeh region, as well as near Zummriya, in the eastern sector of the zone.

Mordechai: No trace of Edri

By ARIEN O'SULLIVAN

Six months after Sgt. Sharon Edri disappeared on his way home, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai met with the family yesterday, but the only news he had was that the IDF and intelligence services had not turned up any trace of the missing soldier.

He also rejected requests from Edri's family to link any further progress in the peace process with the Palestinians to obtaining information on their son, whom they believe to be held by terrorists.

Edri was last seen on September 9 hitchhiking from the Tarzif army base, where he was being treated for an abdominal infection. Since then, the family has launched local and international efforts to locate the 20-year-old soldier, conducting searches in the hills around his Beit Shמש-area moshav, meeting with Israeli and Palestinian leaders and soliciting the help of American congressmen.

"We are operating on the working assumption that Edri is being held against his will and at this time efforts to locate him are concentrated on the intelligence level," Mordechai said.

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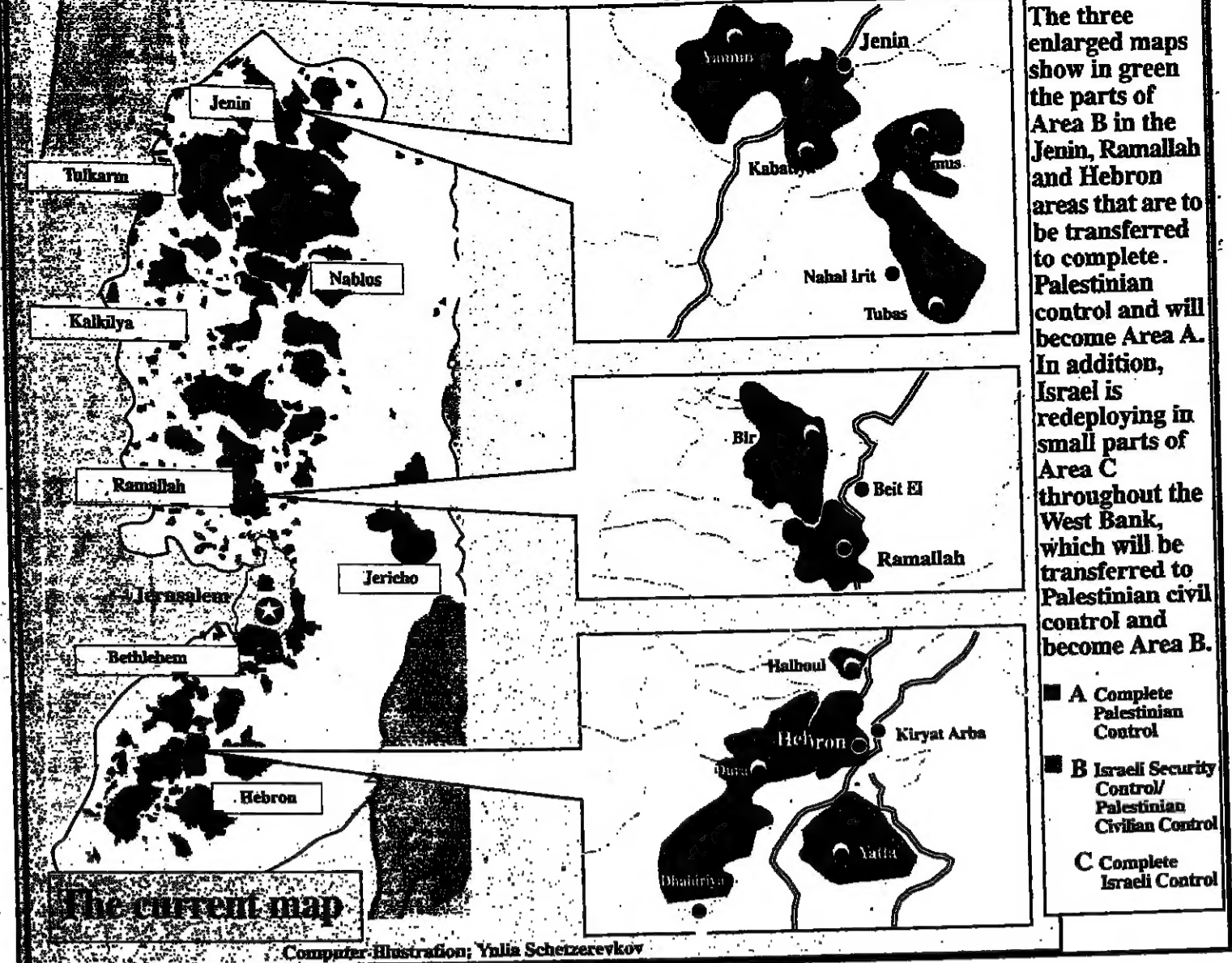
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The Next Phase of Redeployment



The three enlarged maps show in green the parts of Area B in the Jenin, Ramallah and Hebron areas that are to be transferred to complete. Palestinian control and will become Area A. In addition, Israel is redeploying in small parts of Area C throughout the West Bank, which will be transferred to Palestinian civil control and become Area B.

Pullback could end by Wednesday

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF's next redeployment in the West Bank will put some 200,000 Palestinians under complete Palestinian control and could be completed by Wednesday, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said, during a meeting with Central Command officers yesterday.

needed to be taken to implement the withdrawal. Most of these focused on security on the roads that pass near Palestinian-controlled areas. Brigade commanders were given the maps detailing the pullout, and the army said one of its tasks was to see if more bypass roads needed to be paved.

and I think that the residents of Judea and Samaria know that their interests were represented by the ministers and members of the Knesset and by us, who know the area and know the issues we are in charge of."

ANALYSIS

Can the US smooth over the gaps?

By DAVID MAKOVSKY

Yesterday's meeting between Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian top deputy Mahmoud Abbas demonstrated that Israel and the Palestinians have a growing expectations gap, and Jerusalem is relying heavily on the US to smooth over the differences.

of next year, with more territory to be yielded as Israel and the Palestinians negotiate the final disposition of the territories in talks to end by May 1999.

not enough. Israel, however, is no longer trying to meet these expectations, but is trying to get Washington's approval instead.

Mubarak to press Clinton on Har Homa

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is expected to urge President Bill Clinton in their meeting today to press Israel to abort the Har Homa project.

"I would like to ask the president to use his influence with the Israelis to stop this, and whenever they want to do something like this, they should coordinate with the Palestinians," Mubarak told CNN yesterday.

Clinton should "persuade the Israelis to understand the reality of the situation in the future that this may explode the peace process in the future," he said.

Mubarak called Friday's US veto of the UN Security Council resolution on Har Homa "unfortunate."

Mubarak stated that ultimately, the issue of Jerusalem "cannot be solved in the UN."

"Neither, the Palestinians nor the Israelis are going to lose the whole thing for one kilometer here or one kilometer there... It will not be a problem."

Asked about visiting Israel, Mubarak said he could not do so until a more "convenient time" due to the "very negative public opinion" beating he would take now in Egypt.

Meanwhile, at the weekend the State Department fired another salvo at Israeli Ambassador Eliahu Ben-Elissar for the latter's comments to Israeli reporters about the new US-Palestinian economic commission.

Settler leaders outraged by 'secret pullout map'

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Settler leaders are demanding an emergency meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, after viewing official maps of the planned pullback in Judea and Samaria at a secret meeting with Defense Ministry officials last night.

The meeting, which included representatives of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, was denied by the ministry.

Domb charged that the map showed five additional "brown areas that strangle the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria."

In a stormy meeting yesterday morning, the council called for coalition MKs not to vote with the government until guarantees

regarding Judea and Samaria are implemented.

According to Arutz 7, members of the council will meet with cabinet ministers and attempt to convince them to quit the government.

"We demand from the prime minister a working plan that lays out all details concerning future land concessions in the coming stages, before the government is committed," said Tayar.

"The freeze in Judea and Samaria should be lifted and construction should start immediately. Work should start on the bypass roads, and what about investment in industries that was promised?"

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said in radio interviews yesterday the withdrawal would be implemented within the next few days, after the IDF consults with settler leaders.

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WORLD

in brief

Thousands demonstrate against Milosevic

BELGRADE (AP) — More than 50,000 cheering, flag-waving opponents of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic rallied in central Belgrade yesterday in support of more democracy and freedom for the media.

The emotional crowd gathered at Belgrade's Republic Square in the first big protest since Milosevic reinstated opposition election victories last month.

The demonstration marked the sixth anniversary of the first street protest against Milosevic, on March 9, 1991. Then, Milosevic used police and army tanks to disperse protesters. One demonstrator and one policeman died.

This time, there was no visible police presence. The demonstrators chanted "Red Bandits" and booed and jeered any reference to Milosevic in speeches by three leaders of the opposition Zajedno, or Together, coalition.

Police confirm bomb exploded on Beijing bus

BEIJING (AP) — An explosion on a public bus in Beijing was caused by a homemade bomb, police said yesterday in a newspaper notice promising rewards for information.

The bomb exploded Friday evening on the left side of the No. 22 bus, three or four rows of seats from the front, said the notice in the *Beijing Daily* newspaper.

The newspaper said Saturday that 10 people were injured and there were no deaths. Many of the injured suffered burns over much of their bodies, hospital workers said.

The explosion came 10 days after bombs exploded on three buses in the restive northwest Chinese region of Xinjiang. Official media said those blasts, blamed on Moslem separatists, killed nine people.

Turk security forces kill 42 rebels

ISTANBUL (Reuters) — Turkish security forces have killed 42 Kurdish guerrillas in the past three days in southeastern Turkey, Anatolian news agency reported yesterday.

It said a government-paid village guard was also killed in the operation, backed by Turkey's air force, against the Kurdistan Workers Party rebels in Sinak province near the Iraqi border.

More than 21,000 people have died in the PKK's 12-year-old armed struggle with the military for an independent state or autonomy.

Star gazers get double delight

BEIJING (AP) — Sky gazers in China and Russia got a double delight yesterday as the sun disappeared behind the moon in a total solar eclipse that coincided with a rare view of the bright Hale-Bopp comet.

Tens of thousands of people in northern China and eastern Siberia watched the sky go dark and felt already freezing temperatures drop further as the moon blocked the sun's rays for more than two minutes.

The moon looked like a giant black hole ringed by a necklace of fire. Chinese television broadcast the celestial show live, with the comet seen as a bright fleck of light in the eclipse-darkened sky.

Albania offers rebels amnesty

TIRANA (Reuters) — Albanian President Sali Berisha yesterday offered the opposition Socialist Party a place in an interim government and extended an amnesty to armed rebels in a bid to end an insurrection in the south of the country.

In remarks to political party leaders gathered for the second day in a row, Berisha called for creation of a "government of national reconciliation" and reversed his opposition to the Socialists, the ex-communists, taking part.

Opposition leaders praised the measure and sought assurances that the president had dropped objections voiced less than 24 hours earlier when Berisha had said the statutes of his Democratic Party barred coalitions with former Communists.

"I meant all parties seated here. It's clear," Berisha said during the meeting, conveyed to Albania's 3.4 million people in a highly unusual television broadcast.

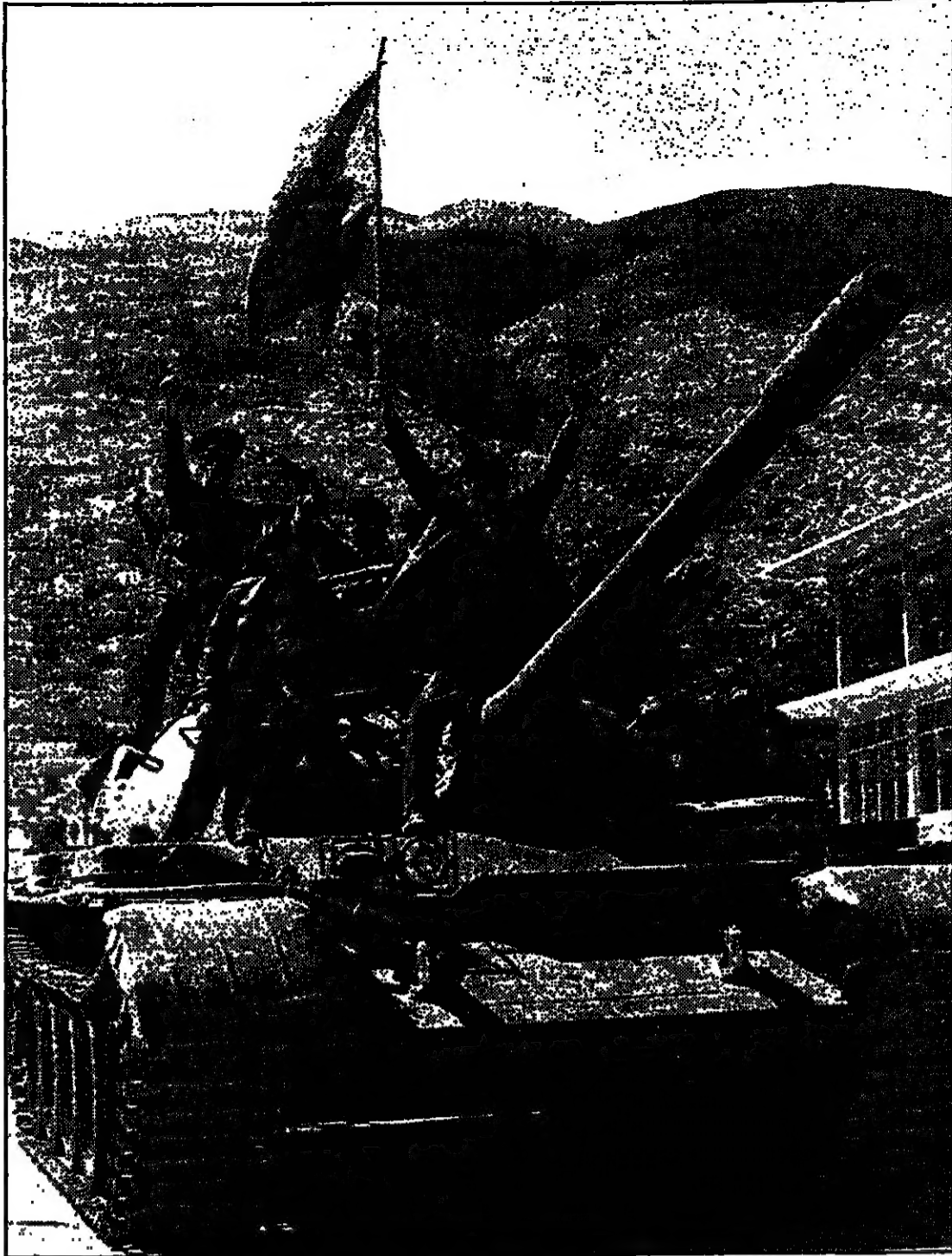
"Last night I was categorical about the Socialist Party. But there are moral considerations...a moral obligation. Sometimes, you have to choose morals over laws."

Neritan Ceka, member of the opposition Social Democrats, described Berisha's proposal as "a very, very big step." Berisha offered insurgents holding several major towns in the south of the country an additional week to hand in their weapons, mostly seized from pillaged army depots. A 48-hour cease-fire proclaimed last week with the support of all political parties expired early on Friday. He made no explicit pledge not to resume military action against the insurgents.

Berisha offered to hold new elections within two months, modifying an earlier proposal to stage them within 45 days.

Opposition parties had said it was impossible to hold the polls so quickly under emergency measures introduced last week in response to a fresh wave of violence in which at least 20 people have died.

Last May's elections returned an overwhelming majority of Berisha's Democratic Party members but was criticized as unfair by the opposition and by Western observers.



Albanian rebels parade a seized army tank through the streets of Gjirokastra. (Reuters)

The Socialists have since refused to take up the handful of seats they won but Berisha urged them to do so — as did two Western

mediation teams that visited Tirana last week.

Berisha was meeting with party leaders as rebels in the south who

are calling for his resignation were consolidating their hold over the region, setting up "defense councils" in major towns.

Zaireans flee expected attack

KINSHASA (Reuters) — Hordes of civilians have taken to dugout canoes plying the vast Zaire river at night to escape an expected rebel attack on the eastern Zairean city of Kisangani, travelers said yesterday.

Several sources in Kisangani said by telephone the jungle city was heavily mined by government troops and their largely Serb mercenary backers to check the rebel advance.

The minefield could be a deadly trap not only for invading rebels but hundreds of thousands of unsuspecting Hutu refugees trudging through the jungle to reach Kisangani after being displaced by fighting from nearby towns and villages.

Also at risk are impoverished civilian city folk with no means to escape by air as wealthier residents have been doing.

"Lots of people are leaving Kisangani by the river at night. I spent last night on the river and saw many pirogues coming downstream," said a missionary who reached Kisangani airport after travelling 100 km up river in a canoe.

Some reports said soldiers had set up checkpoints downstream from Kisangani and were stopping passing boats.

The 150 or so people lucky enough to get on a flight out on Saturday talked of fighting north of Kisangani although they reported that the city itself was calm but tense.

The rebels accepted a UN call for talks with the beleaguered government of President Mobutu Sese Seko but rejected a truce.

The rebels have been fighting since October to end 31 years of rule by Mobutu, accused by opponents of colossal corruption and mismanagement that has impoverished a country with one of the world's largest mineral reserves.

Labor gets boost from Conservative defection

LONDON (Reuters) — Conservative "Euro-sceptic" defector Sir George Gardiner rubbed salt into Prime Minister John Major's wounds yesterday by predicting the ruling party would be thrashed at Britain's coming election.

Gardiner said half a dozen fellow Conservative members of parliament (MPs) had telephoned to wish him good luck after he announced he was switching to the Referendum party because he could no longer stand Major's equivocation on Europe.

"I find it very hard to find a Conservative MP who actually thinks we're going to win the next election," Gardiner said.

"John Major might, but I think

he's about the only one. Tory seats are going to go down the pan with an almighty flush when the election comes," he told BBC television.

Earlier, in an article for the *Sunday Times*, Gardiner was graphic in his criticism of what he called Major's refusal to take a stance on the European Union's planned single currency. "The cheeks of his bottom hold the top of the fence tightly in their grip,"

Gardiner, an ardent Euro-sceptic, opposed to closer European ties, had already been dropped by his local Conservative association as its candidate for the election due to an earlier jibe in which he likened Major to a ventriloquist's dummy.

But his defection to the Referendum party, founded and financed by billionaire Anglo-French entrepreneur Sir James Goldsmith, is nevertheless another serious blow to Major.

Former cabinet minister John Redwood, himself a Euro-sceptic, said the Referendum party posed a threat to the Conservatives' chances at the election, expected

on May 1, even though polls put its support at just 2 percent.

Redwood said this could be enough to tip the balance in marginal constituencies that might determine whether the main opposition Labor party, 20 points ahead in the polls, seizes power from the Conservatives for the first time since 1979.

"That's why I'm worried about it and why I would urge all Conservatives not to support the Referendum party," he said.

"It's a serious force in British politics to the extent that I think it's going to influence the agenda of the election," Redwood, who failed in a challenge to Major's leadership of the Conservative party in July 1995, told Sky Television.

Cabinet ministers reacted more in sorrow than in anger, but Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine agreed that the Referendum party, whose sole purpose is to force a plebiscite on Britain's ties with Europe, did pose a threat.

"The danger is that if you vote for a Referendum candidate you're more likely to get a socialist gov-

ernment," he told BBC radio.

By reminding voters of the Conservatives' deep divisions over Europe, Gardiner's move was another gift to Labor.

"What George Gardiner's defection shows is just further disintegration in the Tory party. This is a government that is simply limping to the finishing post, and the sooner we have a general election in this country, the better," Labor's health spokesman, Chris Smith, told BBC television.

There were no signs of other Conservative Euro-sceptics following Gardiner out of the party, although several made clear in broadcast interviews their sympathy with his views.

Gardiner is the fourth MP to quit the Conservatives in the past 18 months. Two joined the minority Liberal Democrats and another went over to Labor.

His defection theoretically puts Major's government into a minority of three in the 651-seat House of Commons, the lower chamber of parliament. But he can hang on thanks to support from the nine members of Northern Ireland's Ulster Unionist party.

New book says Swiss banks plundered Jewish accounts

LONDON (AP) — Swiss banks secretly blocked interest payments on accounts held by Jews suffering under the Nazis — then plundered the proceeds when the account holders died, according to a new book.

The banks' maneuvers against German Jews began as early as 1937, two years before Europe was plunged into World War II, according to *Blood Money*, by British journalist Tom Bower.

Swiss political and financial leaders also pushed their government for a closer relationship with Germany even as the war was being waged, he says, adding "Switzerland aligned itself to evil."

In the book, Bower says previously unpublished letters and reports show Switzerland lied about Jewish assets left behind during World War II and obstructed post-war claims for their return.

Despite statements to the contrary, Swiss authorities were aware all along of the huge wealth of "their assets" in the country's bank vaults, writes Bower.

The book, to be published on April 7, shows how Swiss banks and politicians "conspired, lied and covered up to deprive the Jews of their money," Bower told The Associated Press.

Bower said Swiss banks, which together controlled vast Swiss investments in Germany, were broadly sympathetic to the Nazis in the 1930s.

A study of old documents showed that in 1937 at least 27 Swiss banks agreed to deduct interest from Jewish bank accounts, Bower said.

In 1940, "200 of Switzerland's financial and political

leaders — the firmament of the nation — had secretly petitioned their government to show greater sympathy towards the victorious Nazis," Bower says.

He continues, "In return they offered a haven in Switzerland for German savings and a cloak for their customers' nefarious activities. These plutocrats found they were pushing at an open door."

"While Europe shuddered before the Apocalypse, Switzerland aligned itself to evil."

In 1947, the Swiss Compensation Office remarked in a report that "Swiss banks, discovering that a dormant account belonged to a German or a foreign Jew, had retrospectively deducted the interest paid over many years on savings accounts, anticipating there would not be a complaint because the depositor could well have been murdered."

Bower quotes Walter Stucki, then Switzerland's most senior civil servant, as saying he was told the measure affected all foreign account holders to stop "hot money" flooding the country.

Bower says the archives show that by 1955, Stucki had become suspicious and warned that bankers planned to take the assets of untraced Jews who had been murdered.

He reportedly told Markus Feldmann, the Swiss justice minister: "There is the possibility, even the probability, that after the expiry of the time limit the banks will quite simply keep the money." Bower says the accusation emerges again in an unpublished private letter by Harold Huber, the Swiss politician and president of the Supreme Court.

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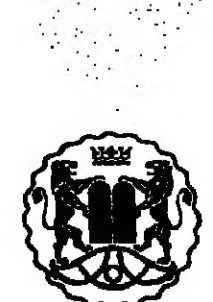
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MOVIE REVIEW

Shirley not! MacLaine's 'Star' takes a dive

By ADINA HOFFMAN

The Evening Star is a sequel to James L. Brooks' popular 1983 "women's picture," *Terms of Endearment*, which starred Shirley MacLaine and Debra Winger as a hysterical mother and easygoing daughter who expressed their deep love for

THE EVENING STAR

Written and directed by Robert Harling, based on the novel by Larry McMurtry. Hebrew title: *Kochav Ha'even*. 129 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.

With Shirley MacLaine, Miranda Richardson, Juliette Lewis, Bill Paxton, Marion Ross and Jack Nicholson.

one another by driving each other completely nuts. Although that movie was far from subtle (it combined broad sit-com humor with the melodramatic twists and turns of an old-fashioned Hollywood tearjerker), it did have a certain saccharine power. Brooks' direction was extremely calculating and controlled, and he knew very well which buttons to push in order to make an audience laugh then cry and feel that their own experience was somehow reflected on screen.

Alas, playwright and screenwriter Robert (Steel Magnolias) Harling, directing for the first time,

demonstrates no such skill or understanding. Working from another Larry McMurtry novel, which picks up the story of wealthy Houston widow Aurora Greenway (MacLaine) and her grandchildren, 15 years after her daughter Emma's death, he manages to rid the saga of any trace of charm or honest feeling. The film is both emotionally bogus and a total mess, with huge gaps in character development and logic; McMurtry's novel is 637 pages long, from which the script appears to have been hacked with a butcher's cleaver.

Aside from *Terms*, Harling seems to have drawn his inspiration from American TV ads for the phone company. From the very first shot, of a blue crayola crayon tumbling in slow motion from a tiny pink fist, the movie is dripping with canned "reach out and touch someone" sentiment, with Important Life Cycle Events (birth, marriage, death) taking place every 10 minutes or so and characters forever hugging each other when the going gets tough—which is often. In between the meaningful squeezes, Aurora and her granddaughter, Melanie (Juliette Lewis), caterwaul and shriek in what can only be described as a very poor, unfunny parody of the strained exchanges between Winger and MacLaine in *Terms* and, come to think of it, between Meryl Streep and MacLaine in *Postcards from the Edge*.

In this familiar outpouring of motherly control and daughterly

resistance, MacLaine mugs, struts and bats her mascara-heavy lashes as the younger actress rolls her eyes, howls "you're suffocating me" and slams her bedroom door. It's a sentiment that may be shared by audience members forced to sit through the same neurotic back-and-forth in yet another movie.

Without Winger, who provided MacLaine with a frank, no-nonsense foil in the first film, the actress is left to chew all the scenery she pleases. (Jack Nicholson, her other co-star in *Terms*, shows up for a quickie cameo here, but his leering presence is just a tantalizing footnote, for old times' sake.) And instead of working to counteract her greed for the spotlight, Harling gives his leading lady carte blanche to ham, and ties it all up with a neat thematic ribbon: this is Aurora's late-in-life self-discovery quest. Instead of constantly thinking of others, she needs to learn to be selfish—or so she announces to her young shrink and soon-to-be-lover (Bill Paxton).

Like so much of what Aurora says and does, it's hard to know if Harling means her declaration seriously. Her character, after all, is already as self-centered as a turning top. Are we supposed to view her decision to pamper herself as the outrageous folly of a preening harpy, or is her allegedly newfound self-interest meant to make her an inspiring and tenacious role model for all the women in the audience? The conflict is resolved in the same bathetic way that it was in the first film—with terminal



Aurora Greenway (Shirley MacLaine) returns, with grandchild, in the sequel to 'Terms of Endearment.'

illness. By the time her family has tearfully gathered at her bedside and Aurora has passed out of this movie and into Shirley

MacLaine's next life, there can be little doubt about how we're intended to see her: Aurora Borealis.

10 out of 10 for children's festival

By HELEN KAYE

Plays at this year's Haifa International Children's Theater Festival (CTF) from April 22 to 25 "reflect their authors' personal concerns rather than the formulaic and predictable formats we've always seen," says the festival's acting artistic director, Gal Zayyid.

The annual CTF (this is the seventh), is the national proving ground for new children's plays. This year's batch of 10 were chosen from among some 100 submissions, "and it's a fact that all the CTF plays afterwards tour the country's schools," says Shuli Ziv, in her third year as producer.

It's also a fact that the age level is creeping up. Whereas many of the plays are still directed at primary schoolers, others like *The Good Soul, Tiger in the Cellar* or *The Thousand Faces* are for the eight- to 15-year-olds. Other premieres include *The Princess Gobbler*, *Pooh Bear*, *Aunt Rim* (to be performed in Arabic and Hebrew), and in street theater, *The Twins*, *The Journey* (a pocket circus) and *The Red Texans*, alias

the Armia Theater, whose audience-involving play will ensure a squeaky clean, environmentally friendly space.

Altogether there are 42 events in 12 venues throughout the city, including free street theater, children's theater companies from abroad, plays by local high schools and of course, the competition.

There are seven indoor and five street theater productions competing for NIS 30,000 in prizes with NIS 12,000 and NIS 7,000 going respectively to the best production in each category. Last year's first prize winner, *The Tangled Tree* has been invited to the prestigious Berlin Arts Festival in April.

The visiting troupes are Russia's Open Space with *White Fang*, its adaptation of Jack London's novel, the Dynamo Theater from Montreal with the acrobatic *Mur Mur*, and from Poland, Panstwowy with a dragon puppet play.

The CTF's budget reflects the establishment's attitude towards children's theater. It gets 50% less than the Acre Festival. The



The puppet theater of 'The King's Highway' should appeal to young audiences at this year's Haifa International Children's Theater Festival. (Tal Kestel)

CTF budget is around NIS 2 million, half of which comes from the Haifa municipality which has increased its contribution by about 20%. Tickets are NIS 35 and NIS 50 with a package of four at NIS 140.



Chen Zimbalista introduces listeners to the magical world of percussion instruments. (KC Artists)

own opus with the musical devotion and artistic sincerity which characterizes his overall playing.

Oren Schwartz chooses three quite different works to showcase his artistry.

In Zvi Avni's *Five Variations to Mr. K*, the composer combines the sound of percussion instruments with prerecorded music on tape; he is to create an overall Kafkaesque aura and succeeds in drawing the more metallic and alienating facets of percussion.

Schwartz continues his series of musical collaborations with cellist Hillel Tzori in Edri Machat's Duo for cello and percussion which is played in a captivating and engaging manner.

And in his own *From Heaven Unto Mists*, Schwartz plays on the vibraphone with Ariel Zukerman (flute) and Ron Regev (piano) around him.

The result is chamber music at its very best which is played with commitment and is enjoyable to listen to.

Zimbalista and Schwartz are two quite different percussionists who complement one another to perfection.

This disc features the many faces of the percussionist in gen-

Warding off the evil eye

By HELEN KAYE

Uri Avrahami's 16-year-old son Jonathan says that if he takes his mother's play, *Red Ribbons*, to an IDF psychologist, the army will release him because his mother's not normal. He's a bit embarrassed by it, the actor adds.

His mother is Smadar Amitai, Avrahami's wife, and she wrote it "almost as an exorcism, to ward off the evil eye as it were, because of my fears for my son who'll enlist in two years. It's very personal, yes, and very anti-war, especially the unnecessary wars we seem to fight with our eyes open."

This is the first time that Avrahami, 47, has acted in one of his wife's plays, although this is the couple's fourth collaboration. He plays a father who goes to visit his son's grave in a military cemetery six months after his death, and the day before the official start of Israel's 50th anniversary celebrations "with all their pomp and fine sentiments."

"The father has his own burden to bear, the guilt of his less than heroic conduct during the [1973] Yom Kippur War, and the state's betrayal of the values dinned into our youth since '48. He agonizes that if his son, killed in action, had known the truth, there might have been a different ending."

The red ribbon of the play is more a thread really, a metaphor perhaps for blood flowing, and certainly for the amulets that are pushed on mourners at cemetery gates and were peddled by Shas during their election campaign last May.

The Avrahamis have not personally experienced the frightful agony of a child killed, "but I have lost close friends. Who in this country hasn't?" asks Avrahami. "In the play, the father feels guilt at his son's death, but on a broader level we all do. We, our children, we were all brought up on this myth of invincible heroism whether we were on the left or the right."

He fought and was wounded on the Golan in the Yom Kippur War.



'Red Ribbons' provides Uri Avrahami with his first opportunity to act in one of his wife's plays.

Avrahami brings a particular intensity to the role, but then he always does. He's thin. He moves economically. His face is deeply lined, almost incised, and he delivers his lines as though they'd that minute occurred to him, a sort of Israeli Gary Cooper. He usually plays losers, like the wonderful Ali, an Arab janitor in the ill-fated *Zinzana* at Habimah, or the cynical, disillusioned moshavnik of *Nama Emek* at Beit Lessin.

He graduated the Beit Zvi Drama School in '74 and met his future wife at the Jerusalem Khan where she was a stage manager. They've been married now 21 years and have two children, Jonathan and 19-year-old Idit, who's doing her IDF stint in the spokesman's office.

Red Ribbons is one of the 12 plays competing for NIS 10,000 in prizes at the TheaterNetto monodrama festival which gets under way at the Suzanne Dellal Center on Thursday. Each play is presented three times only, but most of them pop up afterwards at the country's repertory theaters and other venues.

"And you'll never guess who was the first to want the play," Amitai carols. The IDF? "Yes," she says.

Another bad rap

Rapper Notorious B.I.G. was gunned down as he left a party early Sunday, Los Angeles police said, becoming the second high-profile rap artist slain in the last six months.

Wallace, 24, was attending a party in celebration of Friday's 11th Annual Soul Train Music Awards, witness Kevin Kim said outside the hospital.

"Someone just rolled by and started shooting," Kim said.

In September, rapper Tupac

Shakur was shot in a drive-by attack in Las Vegas as he rode in a car with Death Row Records president Marion "Suge" Knight. Shakur died six days later.

Wallace was considered a rival of Shakur, who had accused him of involvement in a 1994 robbery in which Shakur was shot several times and lost \$40,000 in jewelry. Wallace was conspicuously absent from a high-profile "rap summit" in Harlem last fall that was called after Shakur's slaying. (AP)

NEWS

of the muse

Laszlo caught with cocaine

Stage, TV and radio comedienne Hanna Laszlo and husband Benny Bloch were detained by police for possession of cocaine, Ecstasy and marijuana last Thursday, although they denied it was for their use. The couple were subsequently released, but the story made front-page and center spread in yesterday's *Yediot Aharonot* and also featured prominently in other publications. Just a few weeks ago, TV ratings king Dudu Topaz was caught in possession of Ecstasy and marijuana. Greer Fay Cashman



Hanna Laszlo (Jonathan Bloom)

Permit for Haifa

Composer Haim Permont, the winner of the 1995 Prime Minister's Composers' Award, whose new opus *In Memoriam* will be premiered later this month by the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra-IBA, was recently appointed as the new composer-in-residence of the Haifa Symphony Orchestra, replacing Oded Zehavi who was that orchestra's first ever composer-in-residence. Permont's *Piano Elegy* was premiered by the HSO last season. Permont will join the HSO for two years and his responsibilities will include searching for new ways to deepen the relationship between the orchestra and the community at large and between the orchestra and local composers. Michael Aizenstadt

Ahronovich's European success

Russian-born Israeli conductor and Jerusalem resident Yuri Ahronovich recently conducted the Dvorak Requiem in Florence as part of his European tour to great critical success. He led the Stuttgart Radio Symphony Orchestra throughout Germany and also the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra (which played recently in Israel) in a program of Richard Strauss and Tchaikovsky in Munich. Ahronovich returns to Israel in May to lead an all-Mendelssohn program with the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra within the Israel Festival, Jerusalem featuring the composer's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Claire Bloom as narrator. Michael Aizenstadt



Yuri Ahronovich (Klaus Barisch)

French jazz

Let's hear it for the fourth French Jazz Festival at Tel Aviv Tzavta from March 21 to 23, which is sponsored by the French Foreign Office and the French Institute. The visitors run the gamut of the contemporary French jazz scene from Juan-Jose Mosalini on concertina to guitarist Bireli Lagrene or the Electric Six with saxophonist Stefano di Battista. The mood is multicultural and multi-ethnic, the emphasis eclecticism that's grounded in the traditions of the jazz greats like Miles Davis, Stephane Grappelli and Django Reinhardt. Also appearing is the Antoine-Hervé piano trio, accordionist Marcel Azoula with Lisa Bossa on piano and our own, very talented Minuette Quartet led by Nitzan Ein-Habar on sax, flute and trumpet.

Tickets are NIS 260 for all six concerts, NIS 100 for two and NIS 60 for a single. Helen Kaye

Awards for stage veterans

Actors Orna Porat, Shimon Finkel and Yossi Yadin are to receive Lifetime Achievement awards at the second Israel Theater Awards ceremony to be held at Jaffa's Noga Theater on April 9. At 91, Finkel is our oldest living actor and the only surviving member of the original Habimah Theater collective that immigrated from Berlin in 1928.

His most recent appearance was his solo show, *Confessions of an Actor*, at Habimah last year. Yadin, seventysomething, has the distinction of being one of Israel's first native-born actors and has been with the Cameri Theater all his professional life.

He is currently appearing in *Halperin and Johnson* and *Comedy of Errors*. Porat, 73, was a Cameri actress for 36 years. She was also the founder and until 1987, the artistic director of the Children and Youth Theater, named for her last year. She is currently appearing in *Most Cruel the King at Habimah*. Helen Kaye



Shimon Finkel (Hanan Guttmann)

SEE IT IN HEBREW- HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

A FAMILY STORY

March 11 at 8:00 pm.

While reading her grandmother's diaries Naomi stumbles upon a dark family secret that changes her life forever. This story traces the life of the Stein family from Heidelberg, Germany, to Israel in the early 70's, while in the background historical events unfold and secrets are revealed.

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Rumble in the jungle

Refugees continue fleeing and insurgents keep advancing across the east of Zaire, despite the stated willingness of the president and the rebel leader to enter into peace talks. It all sounds just like one more African mess. Television editors "round up the usual pictures" of long lines of displaced people on the move with all their worldly possessions on their heads. It seems we have been watching these same pictures since the pre-television days of cinema newsreels.

After Rwanda, Liberia, and Angola, to mention but a few recent African disasters, the world once again wonders exactly what is dysfunctional about this continent and if there is any hope of a cure. There are two "dirty words" it is unwise to speak in many African countries because the myth has been fostered for decades that they do not exist – tribalism and corruption. Most of Africa is sick with both of these afflictions and the ubiquitous refugee is the symptom of the terminal stages of the disease.

The spectacular failures of so many governments in Africa have always been hidden by Africans by blaming colonialism, then post-colonialism, then super-power rivalry, then cultural imperialism. To suggest that the monumental stupidity, greed and cruelty of many African leaders might be involved was to invite cries of "racism." The only achievement of the Organization of African Unity – a bumbling and incompetent folly equalled only for expensive uselessness by the Non-aligned Movement – was the coining of these semantic excuses for the ludicrous parade of dictators and fools that have passed through its convention halls. Colonial and Cold War attitudes indeed did contribute to Africa's ailments. They did too in other places – in Asia especially, but the Asian nations have long stopped blaming the British

Raj. Soviet subversion or US imperialism for every problem they encounter. They have taken responsibility for their own futures – and even learned to be better and harder-working in acquiring Western skills than many modern Westerners.

In Africa, Liberia, Angola, Rwanda and Zaire have managed to keep their petty but murderous wars running through post-colonialism, super-power rivalry, and post-communism with hardly a let-up. So which of these evils is really to blame? None of them. Most African leaders continue to be prickly about tribalism – denying its existence while continuing to foster its most primitive sins.

What they also deny is that most of their countries don't even exist. They do in name, in flag, in UN seat, in an address for sending bags of dollars or francs to enrich the likes of Mobutu Sese Seso. In reality, there is no such coherent state as Zaire and Mobutu does not rule it. With increasing illness he has spent less and less time in his fictitious country, and before that was rarely seen outside his palaces. As in many African states, the "state" is a crumbling capital run by a clique of corrupt officials, no more, and usually considerably less.

The simple truth is that most of Africa is merely Bosnia written on a continental scale. The problem of finding answers is also continental-sized. In tiny Rwanda and Burundi, the best solution would appear to be just to allocate one country to Tutsis and one to Hutus – but who is going to suggest it, much less think of implementing such a population exchange? That in itself would only be a partial fix – the tentacles of tribal loyalties, rivalries and identities snake across half a dozen official borders in the region. It is likely we will still be hearing of Africa's problems well into the next century.

The role model

Sub-Saharan Africa has only one hopeful role model and political laboratory – South Africa. The jury probably will wait to deliver judgment on that until we see how the country copes with a post-Mandela era. Kenya and Zimbabwe too were once supposed to be beacons of hope for African democracy and development. They are no longer.

The crisis in Zaire which threatens to tear the center of the continent apart has prompted many analysts to cast nervous glances at South Africa and wonder exactly how much progress it really is making in keeping the wasting African infections of tribalism and corruption at bay.

After the emotional scenes of the country's first election and transfer of power to the much-loved Nelson Mandela, South Africa has tended to slip from the daily international news. The good news is that South Africa indeed has continued to make encouraging political progress, although worries have grown about the economy. The most positive political success of last year was the adoption of one of the most democratic constitutions in the world by the National

Assembly and Senate.

The more troubled atmosphere noticeable in the country may be no more than the hangover after the party as the newly democratic nation has knuckled down to the daily grind and realized that its problems are not over, but merely transformed. A depressing development, however, has been the rising crime rate – and the ANC government's failure to contain it has become a national scandal. The politically-motivated violence of yore has quickly transferred itself to the purely criminal. Violence has also taken a hold in disturbing manifestations such as the vigilante movement, People Against Gangsters and Drugs.

But the most worrying sign of all for South Africa may be the quietly rising white emigration, which last year was some 25 percent up on the previous year. That was the telling statistic that indicated the skilled sectors' failing faith in the new Zimbabwe. The South African government must not fail to understand that expectations at the top of their society must be met as well as those at the bottom if the whole wonderful experiment is not to unravel.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LOST CONFIDENCE

Sir, – Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has abandoned us.

His campaign promises concerning reciprocity, the building and expansion of the settlements, and even Jerusalem have become a sad joke. We did not elect Netanyahu to carry out Labor's policies. He was elected to change the atmosphere and the expectations of the Palestinians and the world and, thereby, minimize the damage created by Peres and his warlords for "peace." The record speaks for itself – Netanyahu has failed in all of the above.

Netanyahu might survive the latest government crisis brought on by last Thursday night's decision. He might even survive the next crisis. I do know however, that he has lost my confidence, support and vote. Netanyahu's government is doomed to fail because it has lost the ideological backbone on which it is based.

I am not happy with the prospects of what is to come but I will not compromise my ideological beliefs in order to keep a haughty, proud, self-assured and deaf politician in power.

PROFESSOR MICHAEL ROSENBLUH

Givat Shmuel.

MY VOTE

Sir, – In response to the advertisement "Open Letter to Prime Minister Netanyahu" in last Friday's paper (March 7) I would like to rephrase the advertisement as follows:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister. I am a member of the left wing. I seek to guarantee peace in the Land of Israel for all its citizens. I didn't believe in you and did not vote for you to be our prime minister.

I have been surprised: I wanted to place Hebron under Palestinian rule. I wanted to free the Palestinian prisoners.

I wanted to freeze settlements. I wanted to find a permanent solution for Jerusalem and to put most of Judea and Samaria under Palestinian rule.

For that I supported Peres and the parties of the Left.

As someone who did not vote for you, I must inform you that:

If you continue in this way, I will soon give you my vote.

YAAQOV LIVIATAN

Tel Aviv.

RESPONSIBLE SCIENTISTS

Sir, – What happens when society lets research scientists do as they please? They build weapons of mass destruction and now they're even cloning sheep.

However, it is not simply the research scientists who should be held accountable for behaving irresponsibly. It is the fault of our society as a whole for not controlling the situation in the first place.

Genetic engineering, like nuclear energy, has become a very controversial discovery, and as such it should be subjected to careful public scrutiny and debate before being allowed to proceed. The situation at present is quite the opposite, as clearly illustrated by the recent cloning of a sheep by a team of Scottish researchers.

What is urgently needed is the creation of a statutory body, whose members would represent the public interest so as to fulfill two main criteria: to share the burden of responsibility across the board between scientists and non-scientists alike; and to examine crucial issues, such as the cloning of mammalian cells, and decide beforehand whether or not to allow such research to proceed at all.

Only then could we begin to function as a mature society, one which plans its future in an egalitarian and responsible manner, for the benefit of all concerned.

DR. ANDRE MENACHE, President, Doctors and Lawyers for Responsible Medicine.

Kfar Sava.

CHURCHILL'S ZIONISM

Sir, – Although Barry Rubin implies that Winston Churchill was always positive in his attitude to Jews ("Ezer Takes Tea with the Queen," February 21), Churchill's vaunted Zionist sentiments vacillated almost from the start.

In 1922 he slashed Transjordan from the Palestine in which a national home for Jews was to be established, thus creating still another state for Arabs – "with the stroke of a pen," as Churchill him-

self put it. Yet he had supported the entire Declaration signed by Arthur Balfour and issued by Britain's government in 1917.

Meanwhile, the president's visit to London wasn't the first time a British monarch has formally received a Weizmann. George V, grandfather of Elizabeth II, granted a special audience to Chaim Weizmann in March 1918.

CYNTHIA BELLON

Jerusalem.

In or out?

MICHAEL OREN

One almost has to feel sorry for the eight right-wing MKs who are threatening to bolt the government. They're angry over the government's decision to evacuate 9.1 percent of the territories in the first of three scheduled pullbacks.

A hapless crew, they're torn by a choice between supporting that

The group of MKs threatening to bolt the coalition are likely to harm themselves most of all

decision and kissing much of Greater Israel good-bye, or joining the opposition, only to see that vision vanish entirely.

A tough bind; but if they're smart, the eight will stay right where they are – in the coalition – for their own good, as well as everybody else's.

Let's face it: Greater Israel is finished. Former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir may claim otherwise, but the era of unbridled settlement-building is behind us.

Nor is there really any debate about whether there should or should not be a Palestinian state. Rather, at issue is the nature of this state – the sway of its sovereignty, the number of guns in its army, and, most crucially, the extent of its turf.

This is the game as determined by the Oslo Accords, the same accords accepted, and now being implemented, by the Likud-led coalition.

Clearly, were Labor in govern-

ment, the tendency would be to give the Palestinians more of all three aspects – sovereignty, guns, and territory – while demanding a lot less in return, especially in terms of fighting terror.

Worse: Were Labor to have made the far-reaching concession Netanyahu recently did in Hebron, it would likely have touched off civil strife among Israelis, completing the disastrous picture.

Paradoxically, it's Palestinian leaders like Abu Mazen who understand this best. They see that Netanyahu is their best bet for completing the Oslo process; that he is good not only for the Jews, but also for the Arabs.

It wouldn't be surprising, then, that some cynics in the extreme right might want to return to the days of mass settler protests and the intifada. That, at least, would be preferable to conceding most of Judea and Samaria.

THEY can forget it. Any attempt to topple Netanyahu in retaliation for his peace-making efforts will only canonize him in the eyes of the Israeli center – and further alienate that center from the right.

Such a coup would be almost certain to boomerang, giving Netanyahu a broader support base and greater latitude to see the peace process through.

The point is not lost on Labor leaders. They fear that a Netanyahu brought down by radicals, with Labor's help, is one who's likely to defeat them in the polls. This is why they prefer that Netanyahu not fall, but be forced into accepting a national unity government – precisely what the prime minister is threatening should the eight decide to oppose him.

The options, then, are clear-cut. The eight can leave the coal-

The UN's view of human rights

ERIC G. BERMAN

Initially a simple standard-setting organ, in 1967 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights had its mandate changed to include monitoring states' compliance with international human rights. Subsequent provisions granted technical and advisory services to states requesting them.

Yet despite this enlarged mandate, the commission has made little meaningful progress in 30 years.

With its 53rd session opening today, the next six weeks will determine the UN's human rights policy, priorities and activities for the coming year. There will be another chance to reform the politicized, anachronistic and overcrowded agenda that has constantly undermined the commission's functioning as an effective human rights body.

Rather than promoting universal human rights, commission members have all too often focused their energies on furthering their own narrow political agendas, and on blocking unwanted examination of their own human rights shortcomings.

Such considerations are responsible for creating a separate item on Israel, and placing it at the top of the commission's substantive agenda.

As the commission's scarce resources limit the time it can devote to all its agenda items, those dealt with early on are in a more "privileged" position, and receive greater prominence and attention.

Inevitably, time constraints force debate toward the session's end to be curtailed. Some three or more days get set aside to debate

Israeli practices; yet an agenda item that covers human rights violations throughout the rest of the world is allotted only some five days.

The commission's mandate is obfuscated not only by the agenda's order, but also by its contents. The agenda has become encrusted with items adopted over the years which continue to be dealt with

annually, regardless of whether they are pressing, or even relevant. This is not accidental: A bloated agenda makes it impossible for the commission to react effectively to new human rights priorities.

Similarly, items devoted to economic and cultural rights are given too much attention vis-à-vis civil and political rights. To deal with the "right to development" to the extent the commission now does is an inappropriate use of limited resources, given that the UN system possesses numerous other bodies promoting this concern.

In recognition of these dynamics and shortcomings, attempts have been made to reform the commission's agenda – but without success.

In 1994, the Dutch chairman of the commission's 50th session initiated a Working Group to review and reorganize the agenda. Even before the group convened, however, its composition and methodology doomed it to failure. All 53 members were represented, and decisions had to be reached by consensus.

Countries with the worst human rights records continue to seek the exclusive use of consensus at the commission; the disastrous result is that any individual country can block a resolution's adoption.

Wishing to avert another failure,

Will the machinery start functioning as it should – or will it be business as usual?

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The Brazilian chairman of last year's session tried a different approach to pushing through agenda reform. He created a much smaller, less formal, group known as "Friends of the Chairman," in which all regions were represented, but not each country.

These "Friends" drafted an agenda that substantially rationalized order and allowed for some flexibility that could help the commission respond better to new situations threatening human rights.

But the proposed reform measures did not touch the politically motivated item 4 singling out Israel. The US, citing principle, made it known that, for its part, it would refuse to support any reform that did not include excising this anomaly.

Israel itself has no voting recourse on this matter, as it is the only one of the UN's 185 states denied membership in the informal, yet powerful, regional bloc system that determines member-

ship on the commission and in many other bodies in the UN system such as the Security Council. Rather, the commission is comprised of such notorious human rights violators as Algeria, China, Cuba, Indonesia, and Zaire.

It is shameful that countries ready to back necessary reform are willing to compromise on human rights principles for political and economic considerations.

The treatment of Israel goes against a fundamental principle espoused in the preamble of the UN Charter, namely, the "equal treatment... of nations large and small."

At the end of the day, holding dear to just principles is the UN's greatest strength. The special rapporteurs en route to Nigeria eloquently and powerfully made this clear when they announced their decision to postpone their trip until the Abacha regime allowed them free access to visit detainees, as required by their mandate.

Reforming an overly politicized and ineffective agenda is too critical to the health of the UN human rights machinery to allow extraneous considerations to override fundamental principles of equity and justice.

The 53rd session gives the commission another opportunity to make meaningful progress.

Member states and the new chair, Ambassador Miroslav Šolc of the Czech Republic, should use the occasion to break with the past and really improve human rights for "the peoples of the United Nations."

The writer is executive director of United Nations Watch in Geneva.

Travels in a scary new land

HELEN MOTRO

go is a part-time teacher friend. She's scrambling to learn computer fundamentals so she can feel she is part of our decade.

Before going to the store, she called me up in a fright: "Is it Word 95 and Windows 7 that I should ask for – or the opposite?" And a writer I correspond with entreats me to please write my let-

ters on paper. "I like looking at the stamps," she declares robustly. "I like opening envelopes."

I'm familiar with every one of the excuses. I used to be that way myself.

I wished the electronic mountain would go away; but all it did was get bigger and bigger, until I had to resign myself to starting the hard climb. Fortunately, I learned that it's never too late to jump on the microchip bandwagon.

But even now, able to employ the phrase "user-friendly" without grimacing, I approach my computer gingerly, as one does a dog

one never quite trusts not to bite. I still have nightmares of pressing one wrong key, and erasing my entire life.

I used to nod at Ecclesiastes: For me there was truly nothing new under the sun. I'd seen it all, heard it all before. I remembered old elections, old currency, old songs. I was past impressing.

I wished the electronic mountain would go away, but all it did was grow bigger

Till one morning I groped my way downstairs for morning coffee, and my daughter said offhandedly, "Mom – you have mail in the in-box."

In-box...? In the darkened room where our contribution to the cutting edge of technology resides, I found the printer humming out something astounding.

An instantaneous communication was spilling out from a dear friend in America, two continents and an entire ocean away. I carried my coffee and newborn message out onto the patio, where it was 17 degrees. With the sun on

my face I read that, at the very minute in the place where my correspondent had pressed "send," the temperature was minus 17. A small world? I felt like I was holding it in my hand.

Bell had his telephone. Marconi his radio. Morse his telegraph. And I? I felt as if I'd invented e-mail.

Try it. Anything could be awaiting you at your @.

Sign up for the free Internet White Pages, and you could get messages from people you forgot existed.

In my house, e-mail love letters to my daughters arrive like clockwork. Only a few generations ago, suitors were serenading lady-loves under their balconies. Perhaps it's easier to break the ice through a glass screen than in person.

Via e-mail, one man told me happily, he has reestablished contact with his brother after a seven-year silence. Bill Gates may have done more for streams of consciousness than Sigmund Freud.

This is invisible ink for grown-ups. And it's great fun.

As I run inside the house to send my answer halfway across the world, I'm glad I'm still young enough for miracles.

The writer is an attorney.

הכרזת הקבלה

Who's Right?

Former Allies Torment Gingrich

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE



Newt Gingrich, after meeting with the President on Capitol Hill last month.

Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

BACK in January, in what seemed at the time to be Newt Gingrich's darkest hour, the Beltway conservatives rallied round. They thought Mr. Gingrich had his faults — that he was ideologically unpredictable and turned to mush in Bill Clinton's hands. But the bold and energetic Georgian had, after all, brought them to the Promised Land, engineering Republican control of the House for the first time in 40 years, and they owed him. Besides, there was no one else to take his place.

Now, two months later, it is conservatives who are sounding the gongs against the Speaker. The man who made his reputation as a scourge of liberals and liberalism is under assault not from his left, but from his right.

Conservative critics accuse Mr. Gingrich of lack of purpose; the euphemism of the hour is "drift." But their problem with him has as much to do with ideology as with tactics. What they mean is that Mr. Gingrich is not acting like a conservative, that he has let them down.

Soft Spots

They are angry that Mr. Gingrich has lately cast himself not in the bold colors of revolution but in the pastels of compromise. They are fuming at him for making overtures toward Jesse Jackson while slighting J. C. Watts, the only black Republican in the House. They accuse him of backing away from public pledges to try to repeal Federal affirmative action programs. And while the House hasn't done much in the last two months, the things it has done have vexed conservatives: it has, for example, approved a new tax (on air travel) and released money for family-planning programs overseas (which conservatives say promote abortions).

None of this might matter if it weren't for something more basic: Conservatives never considered Mr. Gingrich a member of the movement in the first place. In his early days, he was an environmentalist (he called himself "an ecologist," to take away the sting). He never allied himself with the conservative promoters of supply-side economics. While he supported many conservative ideas (lower taxes, smaller government, opposition to abortion), he was not known as a champion of any of them. His value was his strategic vision, not his ideology.

Like many successful politicians, Mr. Gingrich has always been more pragmatic than dogmatic. But in 1994, he burst into the public consciousness as the emblem of conservatism, inexact though that label may have been. In the flush of victory there was no need to distinguish the gradations of conservatism. He was, said David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union, "the Messiah."

Mr. Keene was one who dared two years ago to say publicly, "Newt is not a conservative," while quickly adding, then as now, "But he has done more for conservatives than anyone of our generation."

So, when the House reprimanded Mr. Gingrich for using tax-exempt funds to promote partisan goals and for providing untrue information to Congressional investigators, conservatives stuck by him. But not because he was a kindred soul. As Jeff Hollingsworth, executive director of the conservative union, put it: "The issue was larger than Newt himself. If liberals could derail him, they could derail the revolution."

But the ethics matter took its toll, and many on Capitol Hill say it has diminished the Speaker's power.

William J. Bennett, the conservative critic, says Mr. Gingrich's own "dirty hands" have undercut his effectiveness in criticizing President Clinton's questionable campaign fund-raising. "If he's throwing interceptions," Mr. Bennett says of the Speaker, "he should sit down."

The ethics matter took its toll in another way. Conservatives like big agendas. Mr. Gingrich first appeared as St. George who would slay the liberal welfare state, the self-described "transformational figure" who saw himself as (not merely at) the hub of civilization. This appeal, said one conservative, "made his moderate history tolerable."

But his scope has diminished, too. In one of his now-rare public appearances, addressing the Conservative Political Action Conference last week, he announced this battle plan for the 105th Congress: "We're going to be pleasant."

The conservatives were horrified, and they rose to speak against him to the same crowd from the same microphone, still warm from Mr. Gingrich's soft-sell.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, decried the Republican leadership's "muddle-headed moderation" as "a self-defeating strategy that is conceived in self-doubt and leads only to paralysis."

Mona Charen, the conservative columnist, said that by making nice to Jesse Jackson, the Speaker was "sucking up to the leftist elite." She added later, "He's trying to salvage his reputation by making a gesture toward the left."

Mr. Bennett said, without mentioning Mr. Gingrich's name but referring to his backpedaling on affirmative action: "If certain Republican leaders cannot summon the courage or the will to advance so fundamental an American principle as equality before the law, then they should step aside."

Late last week Mr. Gingrich gave them something else to fret about. He is planning a trip in early April to China, at a time of deepening concern among conservatives over human-rights abuses. Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council, said the trip "offends one of the most loyal elements of the conservative coalition that has stood behind him — pro-family and religious conservatives."

Why are conservatives coming down so hard on the man who gave them a seat at the table?

Mona Charen said that it's a longstanding tradition. "The National Review excoriated Nixon and even Eisenhower," she said. "It's the role of the ideological types and think tanks and intellectuals to push things along. Politicians aren't usually in the vanguard."

The Lost Agenda

Still, William Kristol, editor of the conservative journal The Weekly Standard, said that after sticking by the Speaker, conservatives are wondering what the point was. "What was the point of defending Gingrich if you don't get aggressive, risk-taking leadership, if you're going to have a timid Speaker who doesn't take on tough issues and can't produce anything more than a boring and pedestrian agenda?" Mr. Kristol said. "He seems to be trying to rehabilitate himself personally instead of leading the conservative movement. He's not trying to be an ideological leader; he's trying to be a nice guy."

But does the disaffection of Beltway conservatives spell doom for the Speaker? Not necessarily. There is still no one ready to take his place.

"It's not fair for us to say, 'Now that you're weak, we'll get rid of you,'" Mr. Keene said. "If he has talents, and if you owe him, and if you think if he gets his arm back he's still the best pitcher in the league, then you ought to give him some time."

This suits the Republican moderates just fine.

Inconvenient Facts

In the battle for abortion's moral high ground, truth is a victim.

By Frank Bruni



Hierarchy of Health

Low social status makes people ill and crazy. No one knows why.

By Richard A. Shweder



Lotto Madness

How state lotteries thrive on public ignorance.

By James Sterngold

3

Beyond Empty Threats

The Quest for Teeth to Jawbone China

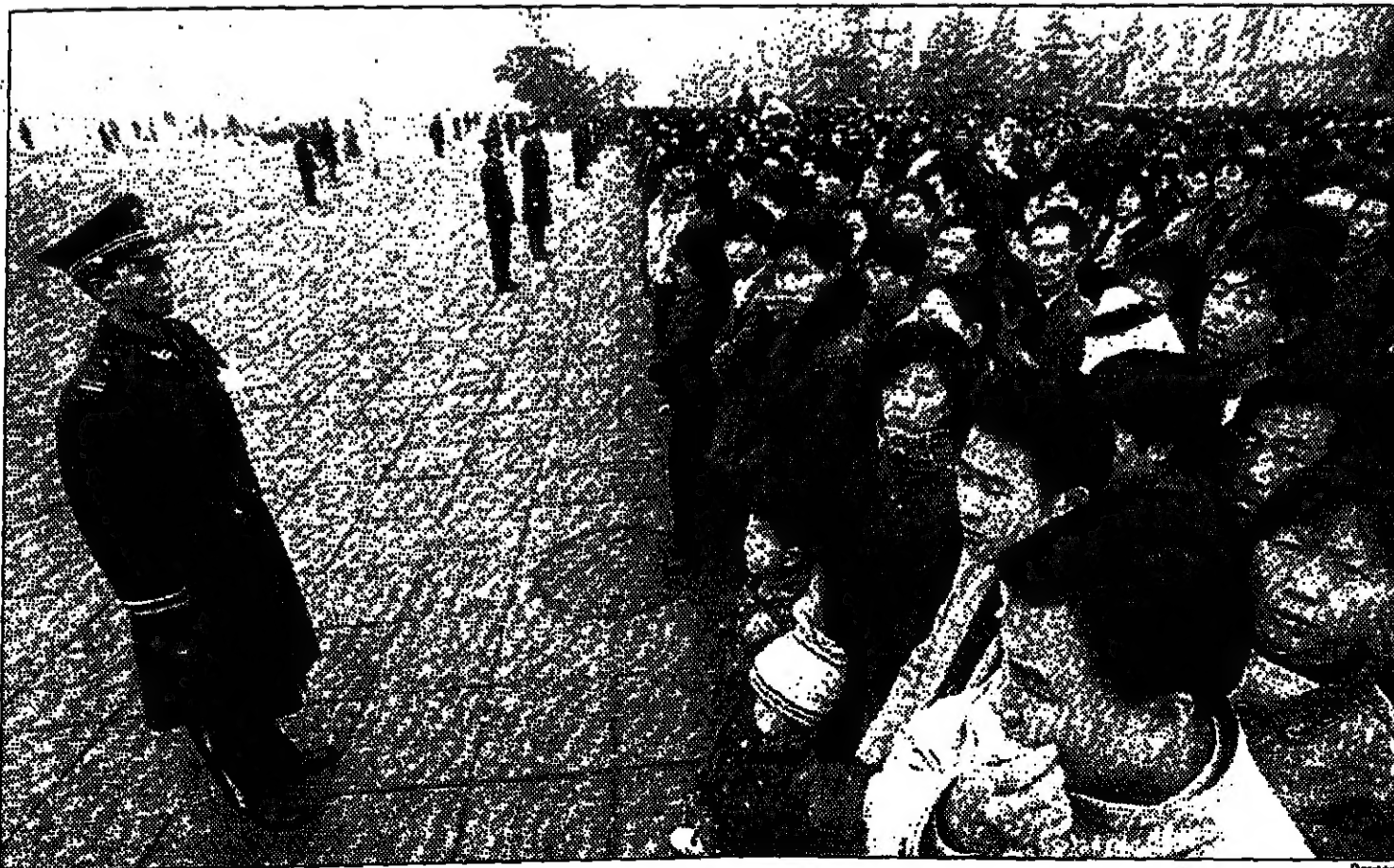
By DAVID E. SANGER

IN the next few days a Presidential advisory commission will drop on the White House doorstep a voluminous study of America's economic problems with Asia that focuses on the Administration's biggest foreign policy headache: finding a new way to talk to China.

No one is satisfied with the meager exchanges that pass for dialogue between the world's strongest power and its most ambitious one. Everyone agrees that Washington has to break out of the circular debate over how to influence Chinese behavior — an argument that rarely gets beyond wrangling over whether to threaten revocation of China's trading privileges with the United States because Beijing continues to imprison dissidents, ship arms around the world and steal technology, from Tokyo to Silicon Valley, for its expanding military.

The trade threat is an empty one, and the Chinese know it. The biggest losers would be the American companies that have invested billions in the world's most promising emerging market; the winners would be their Japanese and European competitors.

But some wisps of new strategy are emerging, not only from the Presidential commission but from private-sector groups that have spent the last year debating what some more creative shades of "engage-



Police closed Tiananmen Square to the public Feb. 25 while 10,000 of China's elite attended memorial rites for Deng Xiaoping.

ment" might look like.

Some are proposing strategies that would nudge China into trade accords that promote the "rule of law" inside the country. Almost all are plotting ways to get the West to speak in one voice, rather than let Beijing play one off against the other by threatening to shift a big Boeing order to Airbus. The Presidential commission's central recommendation is that Washington insist that Deng Xiaoping's successors commit to playing by world rules if they want to join the club of trading nations, the World Trade Organization, and make a down payment with some rapid changes in Chinese law.

The commission, at the same time, urges flexibility when it comes to negotiating a timetable for ending many of China's protectionist practices and for improving environmental standards and labor rights.

None of these ideas would be easy to execute in the best of times. But add this hitch: The most recognizable name on the Presidential commission is Charles Yeh Lin Tse, the Little Rock restaurateur turned big-time hustler in Beijing, who funneled more than \$640,000 in shady cash to the Democratic National Committee and President Clinton's defense fund last year. It was Mr. Tse who brought Wang Jun, the head of China's state-owned arms manufacturer, to a coffee at the White House. By all accounts, Mr. Tse had no influence on the report; he hasn't shown up at a commission meeting

Continued on page 3

The Nation

Voters! Do You Know Where Your Children Are?

By MICHAEL WINES

AMERICA tried laissez-faire parenting, and sensibly declared it a bust. Modern child-rearing dogma states that kids must learn they alone are responsible for their actions — not society, not school, not the “everybody” who is always doing whatever fool thing one’s son or daughter wants to do today, like navel-piercing or exposing one’s designer underwear or car-jacking. Personal responsibility has launched a thousand trade paperbacks and boosted the careers of an army of child-behavior gurus: Bill Bennett (“The Book of Virtues,” featuring young George Washington and his cherry tree); Barbara Coloroso (“Kids Are Worth It!”) excoriating “jellyfish parents” who rescue kids from their mistakes; Robert Coles (“The Moral Intelligence of Children,” bemoaning teens who do drugs because their friends do).

From early on, we have to emphasize that your friends will not provide you with an excuse for doing something wrong and that we’ll never accept that excuse,” Dr. Sylvia Rimm (“Dr. Rimm’s Smart Parenting”) said in a telephone chat the other day. Otherwise, she said, the little brats will carry their blame-shifting habits into adulthood.

And then move to Washington. Far be it from Dr. Rimm to pass judgment on the rectitude or ideologies of the nation’s leaders, now enmeshed in campaign-spending scandals that have soiled both the Speaker of the House and the President. On the other hand, she and a coterie of other child-development gurus interviewed last week are among the world’s leading experts on pre-adolescent behavior.

Taking Responsibility

In that capacity, they have listened to their leaders’ explanations of how they got into this mess, and measured it against their standards for your average two-child-and-a-dog family. Their advice to Republicans and Democrats alike: Go to your rooms.

“Basically, the real issue for kids as well as adults is to say, ‘Well, I did something wrong,’” said Dr. Stanley Elkind (“All Grown Up and No Place to Go”), a child development expert at Tufts. “One of the things about being grown up is taking responsibility for your behavior. And this is one of the things they’re not doing.”

True, Mr. Clinton said on Friday that he takes

“personal responsibility” for White House coffees with donors. And Mr. Gingrich admitted he had violated House rules and agreed to pay a \$300,000 fine.

But Ms. Coloroso writes that children should “take ownership” of misdeeds by admitting error and making amends. Mr. Clinton, by contrast, is defiant: although he railed in 1992 against “cliques of \$100,000 donors” who bought access to the White House, he argued on Friday that White House sleepovers with even bigger donors were perfectly legal hospitality. And he said it was all necessary to beat the Republicans, whose even greedier fund-raising would otherwise have “buried” him. Vice President Al Gore also sidestepped blame last week for using White House phones to hit up donors. Nobody’s been jailed for that, he said, in effect, so it must be legal. And anyway, I’ve stopped.

The Wrong Playground

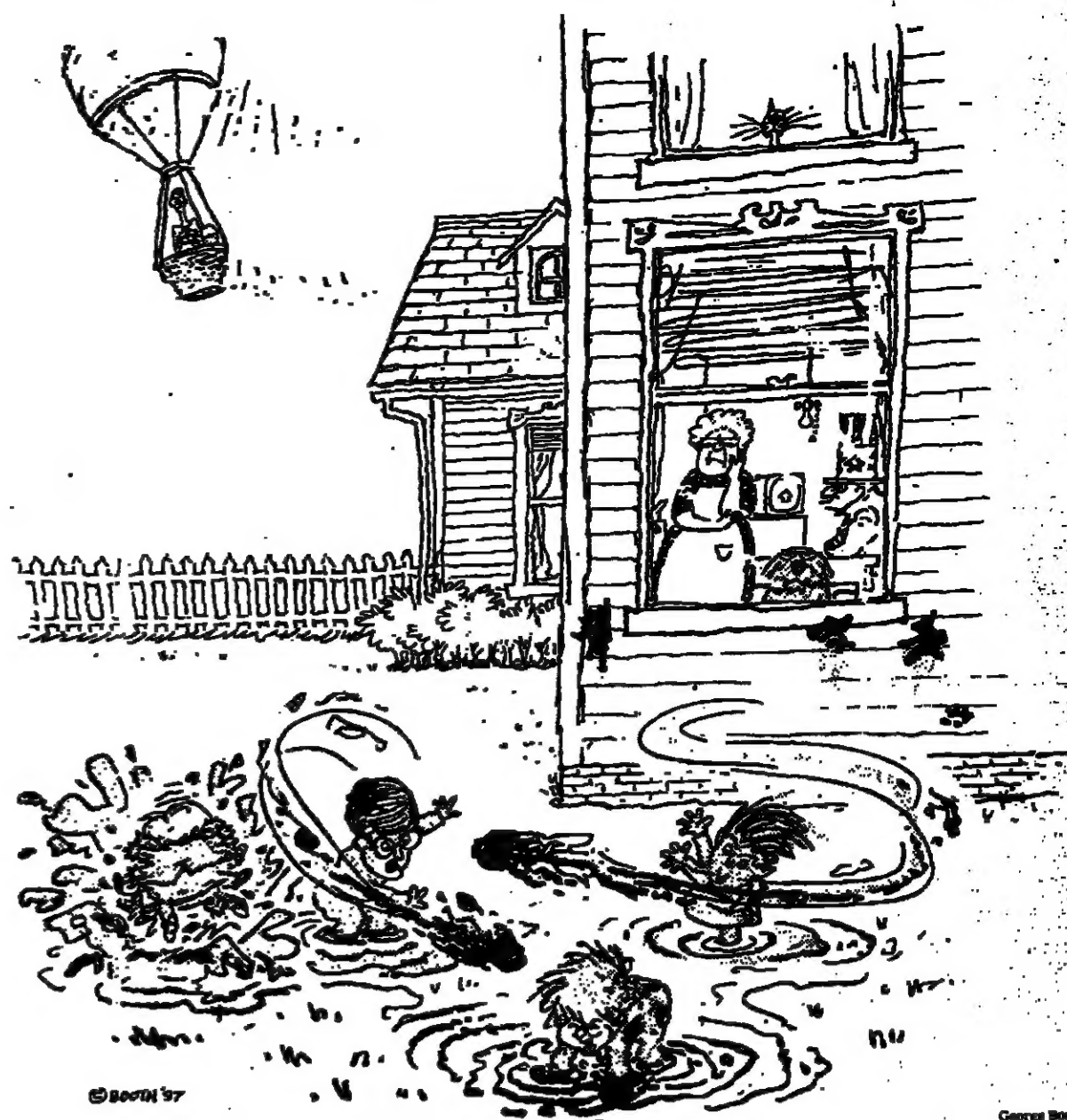
And Mr. Gingrich? He later dismissed his violations as “technical,” saying lots of politicians run tax-exempt foundations. And he said his fine was not a penalty, but repayment of money the House spent investigating him.

To some of the experts, this is all too much like the 16-year-old who misses curfew by three hours, blames his tardiness on heavy traffic and says all his friends stay out even later anyway. Ms. Coloroso put it this way: “It wasn’t my fault; he made me do it.” This is what happens when we don’t discipline children at a very young age, as opposed to rescuing them from their mistakes. It’s a cycle of evading responsibility.

Dr. Coles, the world-famous Harvard psychiatrist, put it a bit differently. “It’s sort of like an anarchic playground,” he said, “one of those unfortunate playgrounds of a kind that maybe some people even sought after in the ‘60s, in which there were no rules and each kid was allowed to do what he or she wants.”

He dissolved in giggles. “The teachers have all gone home. If this were a school, I’d be laughing and worried at the same time. I’d call the police, but there are no police to be called in, because they’ve all been bought off.”

Indeed, if politicians were real children, the parenting experts would be nearly unanimous in their view of how the youngsters should be dealt with. “There are things we don’t do, not because ‘it’s against the law,’ it’s against my religion, or ‘we might get caught,’ but simply because we have internalized certain no’s into our own moral backbone,” Ms. Coloroso writes in “Kids Are Worth It!” It is the parents’ job to build that backbone by setting limits and sticking to them, she says.



Dr. Elkind concurs. “Nobody’s setting down fairly explicit rules about what the rules of the house are,” he said. And, he said, the little miscreant shouldn’t be allowed to argue that “everybody does it.” “What anybody else does doesn’t affect your behavior,” he said. “Two wrongs don’t make a right.”

What Are the Rules?

Dr. Coles did regain his composure, and ventured that the real problem here may lie deep in the national id. Politics has always smelled of Tammany Hall and Teapot Dome, he suggested, and Americans have always tolerated a little favoritism in politics — to keep govern-

ment running, perhaps. But like a lot of parents, he said, voters have never made clear how much is too much.

“It’s hard to get a real fix on that, because the country hasn’t come to that yet,” he said. “Maybe this is the beginning of some moral maturation in our lives, and there’ll be enough embarrassment and shame that the people will respond and something will be done.”

Sure, and maybe Jimmy Stewart will be elected President on a ticket with Frank Capra Jr.

Dr. Coles sounded reflective. “Children have to be taught values, and that society insists on obedience to these values,” he said. “I don’t know whether these children are going to grow up fast enough to enforce discipline on themselves.”

Yielding Not an Inch

The Partial-Truth Abortion Fight

By FRANK BRUNI

IN last month’s issue of Ms. magazine, in a jumble of health-related dispatches on page 36, lurks the headline, “Does abortion cause breast cancer?” The first four and a half lines of text below it note that one study concludes that women who have had abortions are 30 percent more likely to develop the disease.

But perhaps more interesting, and more illuminating, is what the next and final seven and a half lines of text do. They belittle the results, telling readers that women living in cities, after all, have a 50 percent higher risk of breast cancer. No sooner does abortion receive a tiny, possibly insignificant bruise than a fresh coat of makeup is applied to its cheek.

Outside the pages of Ms., in the halls of Congress and the scattered offices of Planned Parenthood and other organizations, there is something similarly reflexive and, to many observers, unyielding in the way abortion rights advocates have come to react to any potentially unflattering information. The recent confession of one advocate that he deliberately lied about the frequency of a controversial form of late-term abortion suggests a movement enveloped by an extremism that prohibits concessions, compromise, maybe even candor.

Giving No Quarter

But if such an atmosphere exists, it has arisen from a political battle so passionate and divisive that warriors on both sides feel that all is fair, that no weapon is out of bounds, and that any admission of weakness could give the enemy an opportunity for total conquest.

“Both sides in the public debate are dominated by hard-liners who can see no compromise and give no quarter,” said Stephen L. Carter, a Yale law professor who has written extensively on abortion (though he hasn’t stated his own view).

Speaking specifically of abortion rights advocates, he added: “They feel that any step in the other direction can lead them down a slippery slope to taking away all their basic rights. They feel that virtue is found in being uncompromising, and they’re clearly on the defensive.”

What has put them there is the recent wrangling over a kind of late-term abortion, called “partial birth abortion” by opponents and “intact dilation and extraction” by defenders, in which a fetus is partly extracted from the birth canal and then its brains are suctioned out before the rest of the body is removed.

Last year, President Clinton vetoed a ban on the procedure because it did not include an exception in cases when the mother’s general health was at risk, only when her life was jeopardized. The President also said the procedure was extremely rare and done mostly in medical emergencies.

But last month Ron Fitzsimmons, the executive director of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, admitted that such late-term abortions were more common, and the reasons for them sometimes less urgent, than advocates had led people to believe. Mr. Fitzsimmons said that in an interview with “Nightline” in 1995 he himself had lied about those facts.

In a telephone interview last week, Mr. Fitzsimmons declined to talk about why he lied. He simply stated that it was time for more truth-telling in general in the abortion debate.



Abortion foes targeted students outside North Bergen High School in New Jersey last week.

The writer Anne Roiphe, whose most recent book is “Fruitful: A Real Mother in the Modern World,” agrees. Although she said she steadfastly supports abortion rights, Ms. Roiphe added that for too long, too many women like her have felt inhibited about discussing the emotional ambivalence behind their political certainty, lest they inadvertently assist the other side.

It is a siege mentality that has kept many who favor abortion rights silent about their qualms over late-term abortions and has pushed some toward an unequivocal defense of them. “There are radical differences between a four-week-old fetus and an eight-month-old fetus,” Ms. Roiphe said. “Every woman knows this in her heart. But her politics tells her there is no difference.”

Such attitudes have evolved from a conviction that something of the utmost importance is at stake, a right so treasured, and yet so seemingly tenuous, that there is constant dread of its loss. For some of its defenders, abortion is also clearly a symbol of one of the earliest and most decisive triumphs of the women’s liberation movement. These leaders are fighting for something both broader and vaguer than the option to terminate pregnancies, which is why they remain as tenacious as ever despite the advent of an abortion pill and the promise of other medical strides that might render at least certain aspects of the abortion debate moot.

Truth Suffers

But their victories have come at what even some supporters say is the cost of complete honesty. “There’s a feeling among advocates that this is a transcendent cause, and that the morality of the cause is more important than the morality of the means to promote the cause,” said Daniel Callahan, a medical ethicist at the Hastings Center who has written two books about abortion. Mr. Callahan, who identifies himself as pro-choice, said this mentality is shared by the opponents of abortion as well, whom he criticized in particular for not accepting responsibility for the violence that sometimes follows their use of inflammatory words.

Mr. Callahan said that from the beginning of the crusade for abortion rights, the efficacy of certain arguments was deemed more important than their veracity. He recalled that in the late 1960’s, one argument of abortion-rights forces was that the illegality of abortion was men’s way of suppressing women by keeping them pregnant, if not barefoot and in the kitchen.

But he said that in private talks with campaigners, they would tell of men pleading with, or coercing, women to have abortions because the men didn’t want responsibility for children.

“I said, ‘Gee, that’s interesting — we never hear about that,’” Mr. Callahan recalled. “And they said to me: ‘We’re not going to say that. That’s not going to help us. We’ve got a good story — the suppression of women — and we’re not going to muddle it.’”

Mr. Callahan said the same partial truth-telling characterizes some advocates for AIDS victims concerned that any admission of continued promiscuity would sacrifice public sympathy for gay men. Similarly, he said, anti-smoking campaigners trumped up the significance of studies on second-hand smoke, reasoning that they were on the side of the angels.

But the abortion wars, he said, have provided the best paradigm of what he calls a new “ethics of advocacy,” modeled after the combative behavior of lawyers in a courtroom, in which the quality of facts takes a back seat to the deftness of their manipulation.

That style, say observers of the abortion fight, marks not just defenders of abortion but also their opponents. The anti-abortion film “Silent Scream,” for example, was deemed by many physicians to be a gross misrepresentation. The current anti-abortion campaign aimed at schools has encountered similar criticism.

The result, sadly, is skepticism, if not cynicism, among the majority of Americans whose opinions put them between the two distant, rigid poles in the debate. “I don’t know how they have statistics on some of the things they say they do,” Dr. Lynn Rosenberg, a professor at Boston University’s School of Medicine, said of both sides. “So I don’t believe anything.”

When Big Brother Is a Librarian

By JOHN MARKOFF

SAN FRANCISCO — THE communications revolution traces its origins to the sixth century, when European monks began copying early Christian literature from papyrus to parchment to preserve their ancient heritage.

Today computer scientists, librarians, archivists, intellectual property lawyers and even privacy activists are struggling with a similar challenge: saving the burgeoning digital universe of the World Wide Web for future generations. But it is there that the similarities between monks and Web archivists end.

While the medieval monks were trying to sustain a centuries-old religious order, the reason for preserving the material on the Web is far more broad and nebulous. While the papyrus-based religious texts of 1,000 years ago were perishable, they were nothing compared to the bits of electronic data that make up the Web. And while the monks set in motion a vast paper-based publishing business that creates archival records that can last hundreds of years and is supported by a vast infrastructure — the library system — the Net has no rules and no institutions for preserving electronic information. Web sites come and go like bubbles in a champagne glass.

In the eyes of some of the people who helped create the Internet, the anarchy and transience of the World Wide Web will some day be seen as a tremendous loss for humanity.

What’s Used and Users

“We are already creating vast amounts of information which should be saved,” said Vinton G. Cerf, a computer scientist and senior vice president at MCI Corp., and the original creator of the Internet’s basic software.

The rallying cry to archive the Web began last year when Nathan Myhrvold, the chief technology officer at Microsoft, sent an electronic “Save the Web!” message to a group of colleagues. “The Internet isn’t naturally archival,” he said. “The Net isn’t going to archive itself.” He added, “We can’t afford not to save it all.”

Archiving the Web, as it turns out, is far more controversial than initially meets the eye. Last month, Mr. Cerf and Mr. Myhrvold were hosts at a conference on the idea of building a vast electronic copy of the World Wide Web. What they found were not only technical problems, but ethical, legal and academic ones too.

For example, unlike a paper-based library, an archive of the World Wide Web would keep track of not only

what is on the Web but who has used it. Therefore it could follow the paths of millions of people and record their likes and dislikes, or even their communications with other users. The more complete the Web’s archive is, privacy rights advocates say, the deeper the Big Brother problem is.

There are also copyright questions at stake. When you archive the Internet, “it’s safe to say you are violating copyright,” said Trotter Hardy, a professor of law at the William and Mary School of Law.

And there’s the problem of the growing bulk of information on the Web. “The question comes down to not what should we preserve, but what can we feasibly manage at this point,” said Michael L. Miller, program director for records management at the National Archives and Records Administration.

The person who knows, perhaps

Web sites come and go like bubbles in champagne.

better than anyone, the sheer scale of the data stored in the World Wide Web is Brewster Kahle. He recently founded the Internet Archive, a non-profit organization in San Francisco to capture the entire World Wide Web. Last year, in early December, he measured the size of the Web at one trillion bytes of data — which is called a terabyte.

Mr. Kahle says a terabyte actually isn’t that big. To put it in perspective, he estimates that a video tape holds about 5,000 titles, or about seven terabytes of compressed data. And the Library of Congress contains about 20 million volumes, or about 20 terabytes of typed text.

What is daunting, though, is that the Web is growing at a furious rate. Between December and the middle of last month, the size of the World Wide Web doubled to two terabytes.

And with growth comes impermanence. Mr. Kahle points out that more and more frequently when people try to retrieve a hypertext link on the Web, it is already gone.

A useful service would be an archive that would retrieve such links, perhaps for a fee. Mr. Kahle envisions a sort of “dialable way-back machine,” a database version of the device used by Mr. Peabody, the time traveler in the Rocky & Bullwinkle cartoon show.

If all goes well, though, Mr. Kahle’s Internet Archive won’t cause nearly as much mischief as Mr. Peabody’s way-back machine.

Ideas & Trends

Your Mom Wears Combat Boots

"So many people get snagged on the details: 'I'm a white Republican male. I have to wear a three-piece suit. I have to eat with this fork.' Forget that! The party really begins when you can throw all that stuff out the window and say, 'I'm ready to experience life.'"

— RuPaul, in the January issue of Interview magazine.

By DAVID BERREBY

DRAG queens like to say that anything you wear is a form of drag. After all, when the day ends the yuppie guy trades his power tie for sweats and a cap worn backward; the businesswoman's practical pantsuit and sensible two-inch heels get exchanged for things tighter, clingier, blacker. So why shouldn't businessmen dressed as cowboys in a Houston bar be called, as one fellow drinker put it, "transvestites"? What are clothes, anyway, if not a projection of a fantasy?

In "The Man in the Red Velvet Dress: Inside the World of Cross-Dressing" (Birk Lane Press, 1996), J. J. Allen writes that the day will come when he can go to any party and get compliments on his beautiful dress. ("After all," writes Allen, a successful salesman and contented cross-dresser in Los Angeles, "a good dress is expensive — and is a guy so wrong for wanting a compliment on his appearance?") But if the response to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's performance at the Inner Circle dinner for press and politicians last weekend is any indication, Mr. Allen will have a long wait.

The Mayor's pink-gowned, platinum-curl alter-ego, Rudia Giuliana, was all over the newspapers. One of the Mayor's Democratic opponents, Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer, told Newsday that the show was "weird" and implied that the Mayor might need help of the sort only psychological jargon can supply: "I couldn't decide if it was Freudian or Jungian." Maybe 20 years ago the Mayor of New York wouldn't have performed in a wig, gown and make-up thick enough to have coated Elizabeth I of England. But nowadays, in movies like "Priscilla, Queen of the Desert" and "Mrs. Doubtfire," drag is safely desexualized, presented as a lovable eccentricity, well-suited to that standard Hollywood message: just be yourself.

In the real world, drag is not confined to



Howard Stern, chatting recently with David Letterman, in book-promotion gear.

amiable lip-synching by cute, nonthreatening gay men. Gay culture has its spectacular drag queens like the Lady Bunny, organizer of the annual Wigstock bash in Greenwich Village, and its satirists like Hedda Lettuce, the singer-impresario and columnist who, writing in the gay weekly Next, recently scoffed at the very idea of a heterosexual cross-dresser: "Their denial is as great as their need to wear bad make-up."

Yet there is a separate culture of cross-dressing straight men, who sometimes involve their wives in transvestite organizations that won't admit homosexuals. And there is a third kind of cross-dresser who considers himself female and is preparing for a sex change.

If the drag subculture has been sanitized for the mainstream ("I'm a Disney character," said RuPaul, who is, among other things, host of a television show), perhaps that has helped make heterosexual cross-dressers more acceptable, at least if they are famous or powerful. Howard Stern lost no fans by promoting his last book in drag. Whatever fans think of Dennis Rodman's refusal to become a plaster-saint inspiration to Youth, his penchant for dresses is

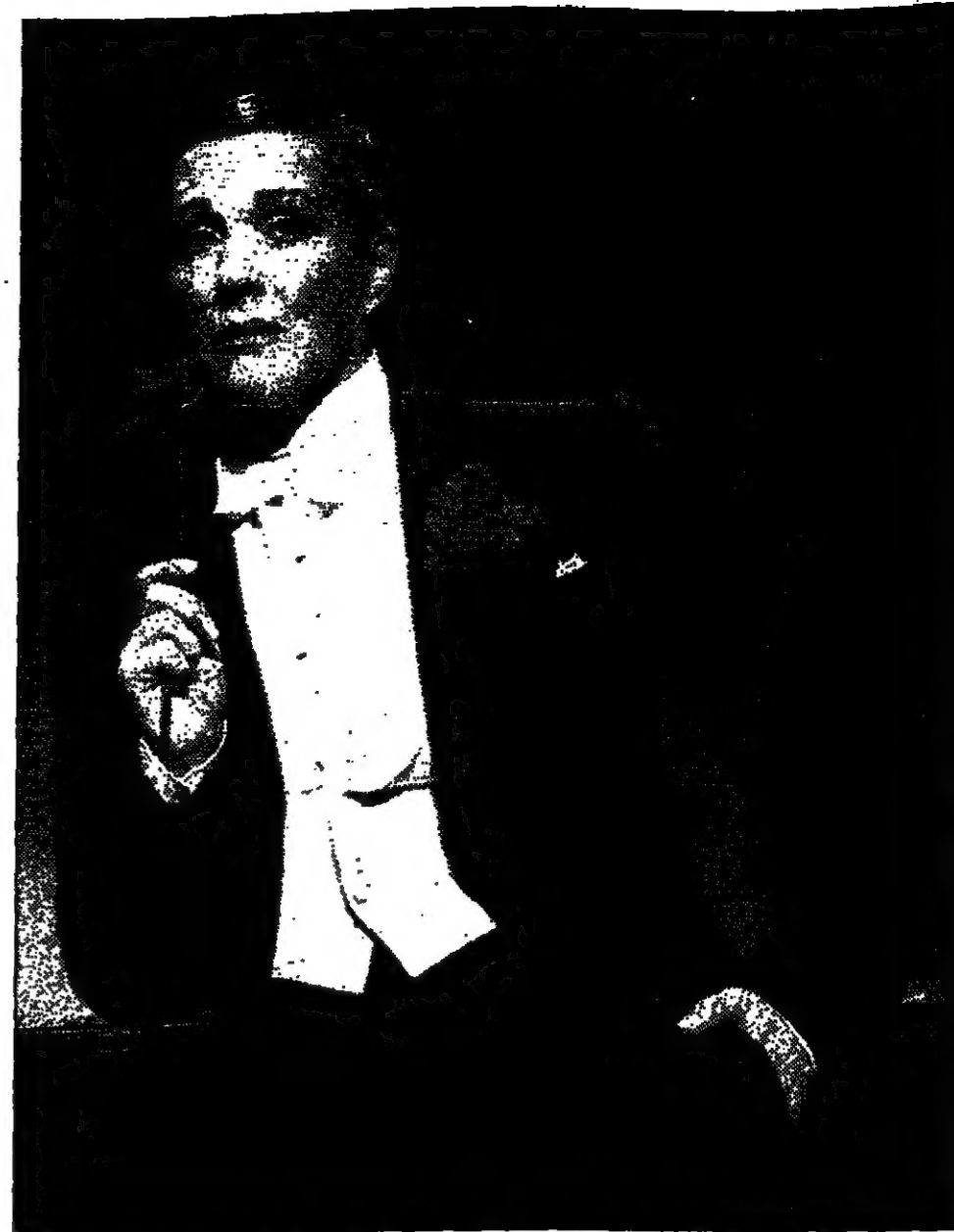
seen more as eccentricity than perversion; Neil Gargile, the Nashville businessman known as "high-beel Neil," hasn't been drummed out of business, polite society or even the Republican Party.

In "Vested Interests" (Routledge, 1992), a meditation on society's periodic flirtation with cross-dressing, Marjorie Garber, a professor of English at Harvard, proposes that drag marks a "category crisis," a blurring of cultural, social or esthetic distinctions. Conventions of gender change over the centuries (an 18th century French aristocrat would not have regarded his wig, makeup or silk stockings as effeminate). But the lines are always drawn, and their blurring, Ms. Garber argues, is a sign of cultural flux.

Women in Boxers

A century ago, a woman in pants could provoke as much unease as a man in a dress. But now practically no item of man's clothing — combat boots, even boxer shorts — is off-limits to women. To shock, a woman has to appropriate other tokens of maleness, like the false beards used by "drag kings."

Sometimes women take up articles of



The Mayor's inspiration: Julie Andrews in "Victor/Victoria."

male apparel like ties and shoulder pads that connote privilege, power, even menace. And that may be a kind of fantasy of power — power to pay salaries, hire and fire, arrest and harass, which belong disproportionately to heterosexual men. But these women don't seem to provoke male anxiety.

Neither does the drag of gay performers. "The essence of the drag and camp is about people on the margins," Jennie Livingston, director of a 1991 documentary on transvestites, "Paris Is Burning," once said.

But for straight white men, a binge of cross-dressing can symbolize not marginality but its opposite. The corporate executive who straps a halved coconut to his chest for a routine at the summer-fun outing goes back to power suits, power lunches and power. A

drag queen, however fabulous a creature, is an outcast. For an influential man, drag can be a way of stating he has power to spare.

Maybe that's why the straight cross-dresser is resented by many drag queens, and not infrequently by women. "At least RuPaul is the real thing," the theater critic Linda Winer wrote in an essay comparing straight men in drag to minstrel showmen in blackface. "It's straight actors pretending to be women who make me really cranky."

In other words, there is drag and there is drag. Mr. Giuliani was not merely showing that he could have fun, but that he could afford to. It's a safe bet that if Mr. Ferrer or anybody else posed a threat in the polls, the Mayor would have spent Saturday night in Republican male drag: a three-piece suit.

Lotto Madness

It's Easier to Beat Las Vegas Than New York

By JAMES STERNGOLD

DREAM a dream, but factor in odds of 12.9 million-to-1 when you do. About the best thing that can happen to a gambling outfit happened last week, when the New York State lottery announced a \$45 million jackpot. Though four players split the money, the state ran away with the biggest prize. It was the state's third largest jackpot ever, and the news — read: free publicity — created lines that snaked around bodegas and newsstands across the state, increasing the state's take.

Lotteries are strange creatures. They fire the imagination, offer opportunities to crooks and schemers and put state governments in the business of condoning gambling.

They also thrive on ignorance.

For instance, while the New York lottery enjoyed the windfall of all the promotional excitement around the giant jackpot, the \$45 million that it awarded represented only about 40 percent of its ticket sale revenues. A Las Vegas slot machine, by contrast, pays out over 90 percent of its total intake.

From a player's perspective, the New York lottery is a worse bet than the average state lottery, which is a

worse bet than a casino.

Thirty-seven states plus Washington D.C. operate lotteries. Together, they sold \$35 billion in tickets last year and, on the average, paid out less than 60 percent of that in prizes, well below a casino's payout of more than 80 percent.

So why do people play the lottery? Because the rare payouts are huge. For example, in California 10 people shared the \$118.8 million state lottery jackpot in June 1994.

There are ways to beat the odds. But most of them are illegal. Several years ago, some crooks in Pennsylvania, including one who worked for the lottery, injected some balls with a heavy liquid and inscribed them with the numbers 4 and 6. Then they substituted them for some of the numbered ping pong balls in the machine. Naturally, the heavier balls, with the numbers 4 and 6, fell to the bottom of the machine. The winner that night was 666. And the \$3.5 million jackpot went to the crooks, until some bookies eventually tipped off the state to the scheme.

In Virginia in 1992, an Australian syndicate spent nearly \$7 million buying up all the possible lottery number combinations. They syndicate won \$27 million. After that, the state toughened its rules on how many tickets any one store could sell.

Lotteries by the Numbers

1 The 37 states that operate lotteries (and the District of Columbia) spent \$372 million on advertising in 1996.

2 Among the most popular numbers played are 7, 13 and 711, according to Lottery and Casino News.

3 New York Lotto players can pick numbers from 1 to 54. The numbers drawn most often have been 46, 4, 13, 43, 54 and 7. The number 51 has been chosen the fewest times.

4 The all-time biggest payouts:

California June 1994
\$118.8 million 10 Winners

Pennsylvania August 1993
\$115.5 million 14 Winners

Wisconsin July 1993
\$111.2 million 1 Winner

5 New York sold \$3 billion in lottery tickets in 1995, followed by Massachusetts with \$2.8 billion and Florida with \$2.3 billion.

6 One of the most successful lottery enthusiasts is Pasquale Benenati, a retired surveyor in California. He won a \$5.1 million jackpot in 1989, a \$150,000 prize in 1991 and two Keno prizes in 1993 worth a total of \$2,000.

Sources: La Fleur's Lottery World, New York State Lottery, International Gaming and Wagering Business

The New York Times

The Quest for Teeth to Jawbone China

Continued From Page 1

since the fall and has never seen the draft of its report. In Washington's scandal-charged atmosphere, though, Mr. Trie's name is enough to taint the report. And the problem does not stop there. If Mr. Clinton makes even minor gestures to Beijing, the response is not hard to imagine. "All over the Hill, and on every talk show, you'll be hearing the same question," predicted one recently departed Clinton Administration official. "Is this the payoff? Is this what all the Asian money was about?"

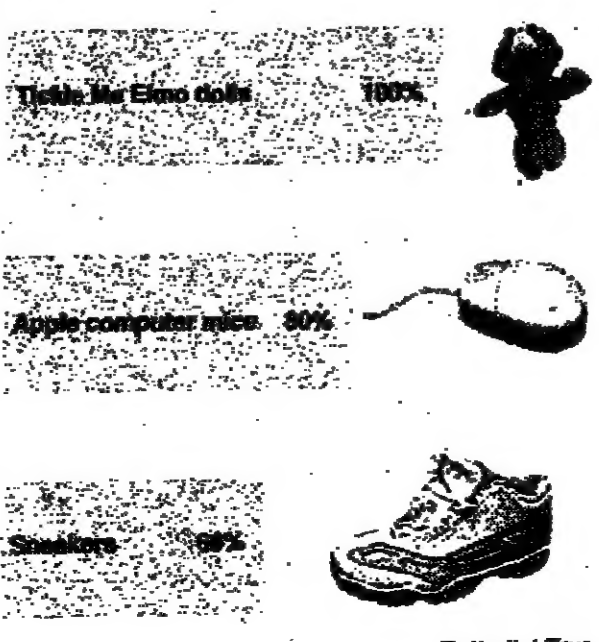
In fact, it's hard to imagine that money turned around Mr. Clinton's basic China policy — that happened without prompting in the spring of 1994. It was then that Mr. Clinton backed down from the rhetoric of his first campaign and adopted the line that linking human rights to trading rights was bound to fail. Mr. Clinton's advisers never figured out how to press a human rights agenda once the Chinese figured out they had nothing to lose. Every trade mission to China would ritualistically raise the subject, but "the Chinese knew it was so we could go in front of the camera and say that we pressed them," one negotiator recalled recently. "Then it was on to business."

There are no satisfying alternatives in the murky ground between using trade as a lever and giving human rights the kiss-off as you sign a deal for a hangar full of 767's. But if you listen to the Administration talk to the Chinese, you can hear some new themes.

Speaking in Hong Kong last week, Lawrence H. Summers, the deputy treasury secretary, tried impressing upon China that repression is expensive. If China borches its takeover of the colony, he warned in a speech, "Hong Kongers have the ability to make such actions extremely costly" for Beijing, taking their ex-

Check the Label

With all the debate about whether to let China join the World Trade Organization, it's easy to lose sight of how deeply China already depends on the global economy. Total exports reached \$151 billion last year; goods exported to the United States alone accounted for somewhere between \$27 billion and \$50 billion. Here are three products familiar to American consumers and the percentage of each made in China.



The New York Times

Moral arguments haven't worked. But maybe China can be persuaded that repression is expensive.

perthe and their billions in cash somewhere else. "If there is to be some convergence of systems over time," Mr. Summers continued, "it would be beneficial for all involved that China's system become more like Hong Kong's than the other way around."

One big test of whether China agrees may lie in the future of Hong Kong's courts. It has long had an independent judiciary, one of the reasons the island has been a thriving commercial hub, and some of its principles are clearly making their way over the border; Chinese entrepreneurs have a clear interest in protecting their businesses from bribe-seeking bureaucrats and competitors eager to rip off manufacturing processes.

That's why China's big revision of its criminal code, announced last week, focused heavily on finance: it included the country's first insider-trading laws, a first shot at cleaning up the notoriously corrupt Shanghai stock exchange. And it made money laundering an offense, presumably so the tax man can get his piece.

In trade agreements, the United States has been trying to accelerate this movement. As part of last year's accord to end the rampant pirating of American movies, software and videos, China finally agreed to wipe out the huge fees charged to any foreigner seeking

to file a court case.

"It sounds like a small, technical point," said Charlene Barshefsky, the United States Trade Representative. "But if the system is designed so that you can't even launch a case, then there is no hope."

Getting Westinghouse a day in court, though, is very different from getting one for imprisoned dissidents like Wang Dan. No one is expecting Beijing to subject its political decrees to judicial review. China's model is Singapore, where corruption is rare, the legal system is efficient, and the leaders never lose a case. The bet, though, is that the spread of legal norms will be hard to control.

"Look, this is our best shot," said Ms. Barshefsky. "If a real legal tradition is going to start somewhere, it's in the commercial sector. Does that mean it is bound to spill over into the social sector, to make the courts a place you go to protect free-speech rights? No one's that naïve. But it's a start."

The same logic favors China's entry into the World Trade Organization. Now, most-favored-nation treatment gives China the main benefit of joining — low tariffs on its goods — but none of the responsibilities. Membership means subscribing to thickets of regulations, and agreeing to abide by the rulings of W.T.O. judges.

It is a nice-sounding strategy, but suing Beijing in Geneva is not the kind of get-tough behavior that China hard-liners in Washington have in mind. It's painfully slow. The judges are timorous. Human rights cases and arms shipments are off-limits for the trade court.

Worse, China could use the mechanism against Washington, to challenge the trade sanctions that Washington periodically slaps on Beijing. And it might not be a pretty picture — the first time that Washington lost a case to Beijing.

Ideas & Trends

It's Called Poor Health for a Reason

By RICHARD A. SHWEDER

FROM a cerebro-vascular, genito-urinary, gastro-intestinal, psycho-therapeutic or mortuary point of view, the rich and famous have never had it so good. Yes, their children are more prone to acne and allergies. Nevertheless, during the last half of the 20th century, people in the developed world with an elevated social status have been producing health, well-being and longevity at a faster rate than those with lower social standing.

Physical and mental health run parallel to social rank. In England, commoners die sooner than aristocrats. In the military, sergeants have more heart attacks than generals. Blue-collar workers — and not only those working in mines, construction sites and chemical plants — have more respiratory infections and hacking coughs than white-collar workers. Office clerks are more anxious and depressed than office managers. Lower-middle-class Americans are more mortal, morbid, symptomatic and disabled than upper-middle-class Americans. With each little step down on the educational, occupational and income ladders comes an increased risk of headaches, varicose veins, hypertension, sleepless nights, emotional distress, heart disease, schizophrenia and an early visit to the grave.

The funny thing is, no one knows why. Of course, people who are socially well placed have not always been spared the ravages of disease. Mythic images of wounded elites come to mind: gout-endangered royalty, wan and hysterical Victorian ladies, ascetic malnourished Brahman widows, Mandarins eating vitamin-deficient polished rice and bearing beriberi. In the 1920's and 30's, coronary heart disease was apparently a mark of social distinction among men in England. In the 1940's and 50's, the polio virus crippled those at the top in the United States. And even today there are a few afflictions, like breast cancer and malignant melanomas, that seem to prevail among citizens of high station.

On the whole, though, the upper-crust neuroses and illnesses have all but disappeared from Europe and the United States. During the last 50 years, Western men and women of higher status have lived longer and have

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been healthier and saner than the people they outclass.

The study of "social inequalities in health" is today one of the hottest areas in epidemiology, medical sociology and health psychology. Only last December, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation established a research network on socioeconomic status and health, under the direction of Nancy Adler, a psychologist at the University of California, San Francisco.

Much of the excitement dates from the 1980 publication of the "Black Report," when Sir Douglas Black (a former president of the Royal College of Physicians) and his medical, social science and public policy associates showed the statistical association between illness and social class in England and Wales. The Conservative Government detested the Black Report, viewing it as a trespass of social medicine into politics, an ideologi-

No one knows why people with high social status are more healthy and less crazy.

cal tract produced by welfare-state advocates longing to redistribute wealth and level the social class system. Liberal egalitarians, just as predictably, took the study as proof that social hierarchy is a public health problem.

Politics aside, no one knows precisely why people with high status are more healthy and less crazy.

It is not primarily because they have better access to health care. Socioeconomic differences exist for diseases that are not amenable to treatment. In fact, since the advent of the British National Health Service in 1948, the gap in health between occupational statuses in England has widened. (Perhaps this confirms the dismal economic principle that publicly financed institutions — hospitals, schools, highways and courts — always benefit the well-to-do most.)

The health gap cannot be blamed mostly on hazardous work or living conditions, either. Social status differences in health persist even when members of different social classes are exposed to similar levels of pollutants and carcinogens in their environment.

Nor is poverty itself the prime reason. Consider, for

example, the famous "Whitehall Studies," an investigation of the tidy, hierarchically graded world of relatively well-off white-collar British civil servants, conducted by the epidemiologist Michael Marmot and his public health colleagues at University College, London.

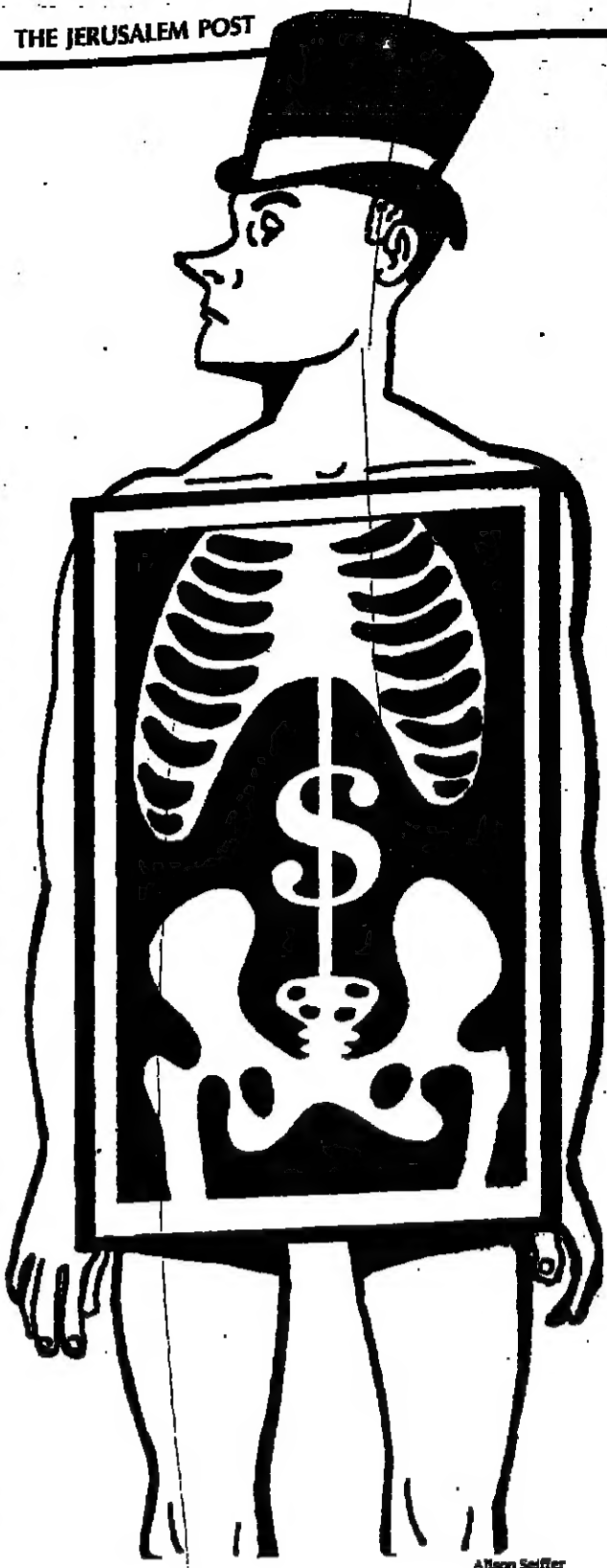
The Whitehall study showed that with each tiny descent in civil service rank, from senior executive officer down to executive officer, comes more angina, more diabetes and more rough cough with phlegm. In this securely employed population, the mortality gap between senior administrators and clerical workers is even greater than the health divide in the general population. Moreover, as comparisons between richer and poorer countries in Europe have shown time and again, greater national wealth does not readily translate into greater national health. A 45-year-old Greek male can expect to live longer than his English peer.

The health gap cannot be blamed primarily on life style differences, either. It's true that clean living (no smoking, alcohol or fatty foods and lots of exercise) is a high-status religious activity (though professional women probably drink more liquor than working-class women). Nevertheless, it turns out that most of the social inequality in coronary heart disease remains even after such life-style differences are taken into account.

Could the health gap exist because unhealthy people are downwardly mobile or because healthy women marry up? Those things do happen. Some people rise in status because they are vigorous and others are "selected" for demotion because they are disabled or out of their minds. But social migration isn't enough of a stampede to explain all the health effects.

Neo-conservatives believe that both health and high social rank are jointly produced and justly earned by hard-working, intelligent people who avoid reckless risks, educate themselves and take a long view of life. And liberal-minded egalitarians believe that health is a common good that ought to be provided and regulated by the government (just like highways, schools, courts and national defense). But neither side has explained how the health divide is actually produced.

Perhaps it is karma. Perhaps it is in the genes. Perhaps it is all of the reasons above. Perhaps it is a statistical artifact. Perhaps the safest thing one can say is that the socioeconomic health gradient is a "multiple complex synergistic non-linear incremental cumulative threshold-bound lag effect." Social scientists like to talk like that when they think they are looking at something important but don't really know what is going on.



Inheriting the Wind

Green Power Wanes, but Not at the Grass Roots

By AGIS SALPUKAS

WINDMILLS, solar panels, steam energy from deep in the earth. Many Americans have yearned to produce energy without polluting the air and water or burning irreplaceable fuels like coal, oil and natural gas.

But renewable sources of power have proved to be less than reliable in recent years. They have failed to supply large amounts of energy and, perhaps most important, cannot compete with the cheap power derived from fossil fuels.

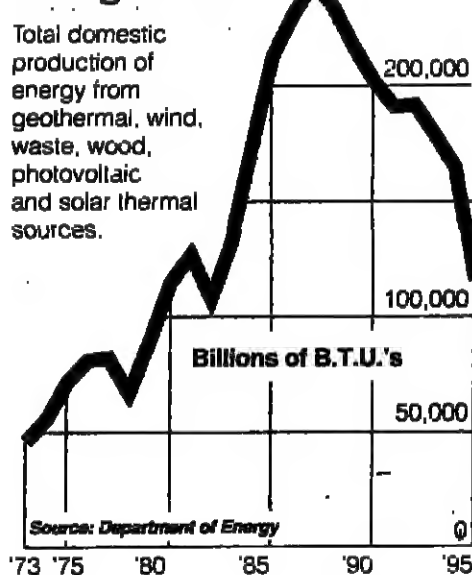
For a time in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the promise of unlimited renewable energy seemed close to realization. Consumers, scientists and entrepreneurs were fascinated. And the companies involved in alternative power sources multiplied, while researchers made breakthroughs that lowered costs. Wind energy produced power for about 5 cents a kilowatt hour, nearing the levels produced at huge coal-burning and nuclear plants. Companies like Kenetech Corporation in Livermore, Calif., developed propeller-churning turbines designed to make wind a mainstream source of energy.

Strong Public Support

But in the past five years, the promise of renewable power has become a distant hope. Incentives provided by state regulators and utilities have disappeared. Federal research funds have been cut by a budget-conscious Congress. The industry itself has stumbled. Kenetech's newest turbines were flawed, according to a stockholder lawsuit and some industry analysts, and the company's wind subsidiary was forced to seek bankruptcy protection.

But while green power itself is in retreat, the grass-roots support for it is still widespread. Central and South West Corporation, an electric and natural gas utility in the Southwest, recently held town meetings with

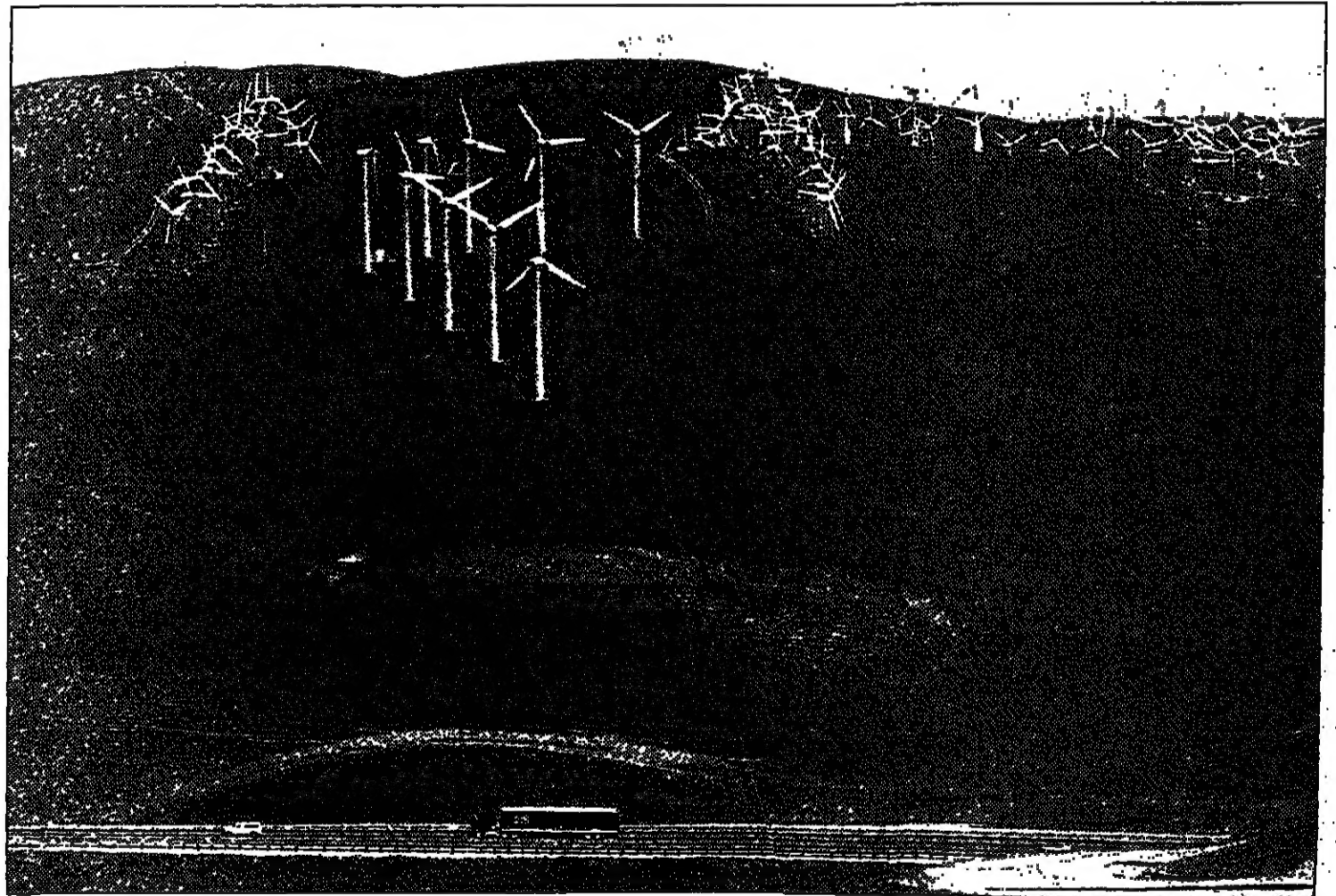
Fading Power



Deregulation has distracted utilities from developing other sources of energy.

some of its 1.7 million customers and found strong support for alternative energy sources. Most residents said they were willing to pay from \$5 to \$7 more a month to have solar or other alternatives supply part of their energy.

"There is a market out there for renewables," said E. R. Brooks, chairman of the



Huge propeller turbines at Kenetech Windpower near Livermore, Calif., were built as an alternative to fossil fuels.

utility corporation. "Many people want the option."

Consumers want the option of using more green power, but it has become harder to get. "America gets less electricity from solar, wind and geothermal today than it did five years ago," said Ralph Cavanagh, the energy program director of the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group. Even at its peak in 1987, the industry represented about four-tenths of a percent of the total energy production in this country; today it is about two-tenths of a percent.

California's Commitment

A major reason for the decline involves the deregulation of the utilities industry. Many states are opening their utilities to producers and marketers of low-cost electricity, giving customers a choice and perhaps lower rates. California, which passed its deregulation law last fall, will enable corporations, universities and other big customers to choose their energy provider in 1998. It will also guarantee small customers a rate reduction of 10 percent.

Facing competition, many utility companies have become preoccupied with cutting costs, merging with other energy companies, and expanding overseas. Houston's NGC Corporation, a natural gas seller, recently bought Destec Energy, a local power plant operator. Some utilities are restructuring so they can distribute only electricity.

California, which is home, if not a beacon, to many renewable energy companies, provided vital support for green power by providing utilities to enter into long-range con-

tracts to buy alternative power at high prices. But in 1994 the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ruled that states cannot force utilities to use renewable energy instead of cheaper sources. Since renewable energy now costs more than that generated by coal, natural gas and nuclear plants, the ruling effectively undermined the industry. Some companies and projects collapsed.

The renewable energy industry is fighting to keep a foothold in the United States; some

Generating electricity from solar panels and wind turbines is still more expensive than using oil, coal or gas.

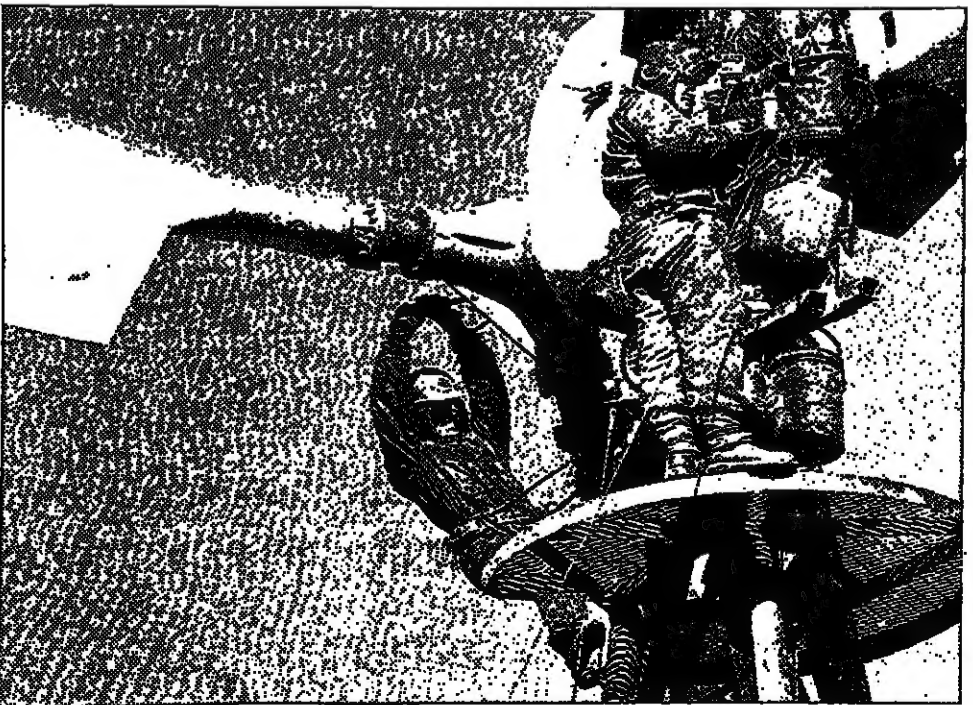
companies manage by selling wind turbines and solar panels to underdeveloped countries. A flourishing international market has enabled some companies to survive the downturn in this country. Wind and solar power is popular in countries like India and Pakistan where large rural areas are without power plants and extensive transmission systems. Some European countries are also satisfied customers.

There is a bright side to the American quest for alternative energy. With its deregulation

law, California is dedicating a little less than 1 percent of every electric bill to supporting research as well as programs for green power; the fund is expected to total about \$540 million by 2002. In its fiscal 1997 budget the Clinton Administration has also proposed a sizable increase in funds for research into green sources of power, but the proposal may not survive Congress.

As various states begin pilot programs to investigate electricity deregulation, marketers of power are finding that offering some form of green power is a selling point. While green energy has often turned out to be hydroelectric, which is generated through huge dams that inundate land for miles, its environmental appeal has drawn in utilities and other energy companies. Enron Corporation, a major gas distributor and wholesaler of gas and electricity based in Houston, is trying to turn itself into a national marketer of gas and electricity. It recently added renewable energy to its portfolio by acquiring the Zond Corporation, a California-based developer of wind power.

In the meantime technological improvements in the field are continuing. The cost of making semiconductor systems has sharply dropped with the use of photovoltaic cells, which convert the energy of light to electricity. Researchers at the National Renewable Energy Laboratory, part of the Department of Energy, have produced a bacterium that cuts the cost of converting waste from agriculture and forestry to ethanol. "Big strides in technology are bringing the cost of power down," Dr. Charles Gay, director of the laboratory, said.



Maintenance crews work on one of the wind turbines at Kenetech Windpower.

هكذا من النحل

ECONOMY

Downsized but Not Out: A Tale of a Maine Mill Town

By JON NORDHEIMER

FOR more than a century, outsiders controlled the economic destiny of the men and women who toiled in the textile mills of this coastal town south of Portland.

Whether those who held this power were faceless Boston bankers, Southern textile brokers or Wall Street portfolio managers didn't matter much to the millworkers. Owners came and went, and the only visible sign of each transition was a new company name printed on payroll checks.

So when word spread last July that Albert J. Dunlap had been hired as the chairman of the Sunbeam Corporation, owner of the Biddeford Textile Company, the 352 workers at the mill took the news calmly, expecting some manner of corporate shake-up but confident that their jobs were safe.

After all, they reassured one another, they helped produce Sunbeam's popular, and profitable, "Beauty With a Brain" line of electric blankets. True, the controls and wiring were manufactured in Mississippi and Mexico, but the fabric "shells" — some four million of them last year — were woven for Sunbeam exclusively on Biddeford Textile looms. Once finished, the electric blankets were shipped to department stores across the country and sold for up to \$179.

But Mr. Dunlap didn't get his nick-

name "Chainsaw Al" for nothing. In November, he announced that the Biddeford plant would be either shut down or sold as part of his plan to slash Sunbeam's overall work force in half. When Robert B. Reich, then the nation's Labor Secretary, described the move as "treating employees as if they are disposable pieces of equipment," Mr. Dunlap brushed off the criticism and said his first obligation was to the shareholders who hired him to make the company profitable.

The mill hands reacted to the thunderbolt much as most people deal with death — with disbelief, anger and depression. They have resisted, so far, only the last stage: acceptance.

Perhaps they should have seen it coming. It was no secret that Mr. Dunlap had joined Sunbeam after lopping off 11,200 workers, one-third of the work force, at the Scott Paper Company in a mere 28 months, earning \$100 million for his trouble. And the Biddeford workers' blankets, though of high quality, are far from high technology. It would be far cheaper to make them in a third world country.

Moreover, plant closings are hardly unusual these days. About 10 times a week, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a big factory shuts down somewhere in the United States, throwing an average of 190 people out of work with each closing. And those figures do not include the even larger number of mining and construction sites and service-company workplaces that are shuttered.

But these are ordinary folks — on the flip side of the investing public's obsession with the surging Dow Jones Industrial average and the performance of its mutual funds. Many live from paycheck to paycheck, contribute to a modest union pension, but have no 401(k) plans or stock options.

The Biddeford mill work force, including managers who worry as much about their own futures, now stands at under 300 because of winter layoffs. Few jobs in the local market come close to the \$9 to \$13 an hour that workers are paid to tend the humming weaving machines. Mill hands rely on a tradition of grit to see them through hard times, which in textiles in New England is almost a full-time job.

That tradition goes back a long way. It is hard to imagine today, but this town was once a cradle of American industry, beginning in 1826 when the largest cotton mill in the country was built on an island where the Saco River plunged into spray-tossing cataracts. As production peaked earlier in this century, nearly 6,000 textile workers in different mills flooded the streets during shift changes.

Yankee farmhands were the first millworkers, subsequently replaced by Irish immigrants and French-Canadians who trekked from rural Quebec, sometimes by foot, as production expanded and more cheap labor was needed. In this century, as New England textile mills bled jobs to Southern states with nonunion labor, companies were sold, merged or went out of business.

With no money or political power to speak of, the mill hands relied on grit as their main weapon against anguish while waiting for Mr. Dunlap to decide whether to close or sell the mill. By year's end, few of them had any illusions about a boss who wrote a book called "Mean Business" and who relished his reputation as a tough guy with a mission from shareholders to clean up the mess left by his predecessors.

Yet grit alone would not be enough to prevail against the executive suites of Sunbeam's South Florida headquarters. In the end, however, millworkers may be saved from the scrap heap of modern corporate history through a union effort to negotiate an employee stock ownership plan with the help of a private investor and a mill manager who — in their eyes — is as much a hero as Mr. Dunlap is a villain.

The workers' first reaction to Mr. Dunlap's November announcement was shocked disbelief and bafflement. "We've been working a lot of overtime this year, so no one guessed it would be this bad," muttered Rosaire Breaute, a few days before Thanksgiving, as he downed an early-morning \$1 pint of beer at Pop's, a workers' hangout a block from the mill. "We've always been a profitable place for Sunbeam. They've always made a buck here."

Rumors were still flying about Sunbeam's intentions, and Mr. Breaute was under the false impression that Mr. Dunlap had set a Jan. 1 deadline for deciding whether to jettison the Biddeford factory. Wary from working the overnight shift, he looked out the window in silence for a while as the first snowfall of the season dusted the parked cars outside.

"The thing nobody can figure out is, why would Dunlap want to get rid of the only mill that makes shells for the electric blanket line he wants to keep?" he finally said. "It doesn't make sense."

Just down the street from Pop's, a similar incredulity reigned at the meeting hall of Local 1856 of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. A few members had gathered in an upstairs office, and they were in a combative mood.

They suspected that Sunbeam had a hidden agenda: It would either bust the union contract and cut wages and health plan benefits, or it would sell the mill to a buyer who would create up its modern machines and relocate production closer to Sunbeam's Mississippi plant, where the shells are shipped to be fitted with electrical-heating components.

"Why else would they sell their only supplier?" asked Ray Tilton, president of the local and the third generation in his family to work in



Albert J. Dunlap.

the mill. "It's like making an engine without a car to put it in."

"We're being sold because we're in the Northeast and a union shop," shot back Wally Szumita, another union official.

"There are a lot of half-empty textile mills in the South that would be happy to be Sunbeam's supplier," interjected Michael J. Cavanaugh, assistant manager of the union's regional board.

The conversation soon veered into wishful thinking. "They have no experience down there making blanket shells," declared Mr. Tilton, who works a second job driving a taxi at night. "We have all the skills and the experience. No one else could do what we do. Not those Rebels, anyway."

Mr. Szumita picked up the theme. "Not taking anything away from these Southerners," he rasped, "but you can't find a good work force down there like you can here. Here the millworker takes pride in his work and will work 60 hours a week, every week, if you ask him."

Others in the room nodded agreement, endorsing a long-held sentiment. However, manufacturing workers in the South today can often earn as much as Biddeford's unionized workers. But that fact is tough to accept in a union hall whose members fear more job losses.

"Compare our blankets with what they produce down there," he continued. "Theirs are like a rag. If you went down there and said you were a millworker from Maine, they'd hire you in a heartbeat," he said, snapping his fingers for punctuation.

Rita LaChance had listened to the exchange quietly. But when she spoke, the others fell silent.

It is an axiom of the mill that the closer a job places a worker to the loom, the higher he or she is in the pecking order, both for pay and respect. And Mrs. LaChance, a gray-haired grandmother with a commanding voice that seems made of polished steel, stands atop the hierarchy. She has worked in textile mills for 42 years and is the head weaver at Biddeford Textile, in charge of setting the patterns that tell the automated looms what to weave.

"Any company can weave our shells if they have our patterns," she said flatly, bringing the conversation down to earth.

Recently installed modern machinery at the mill could be shipped almost anywhere, she said, even to Mexico.

"I have the feeling, Ray," she said, softly now, as she looked at Mr. Tilton. "If they wanted to move us down South they could do it. That's what scares me."

"I don't know," replied Mr. Tilton, a little deflated but refusing to concede defeat. "We have all the experience. The tradition. Our families are here."

"They could retrain workers and get it done in six months," Mrs. LaChance said, pursing her lips with conviction.

"Family, traditions — that means this much to Al Dunlap," said another person in the room, forming a zero with his thumb and forefinger.

"Well, if some new owner comes in here and tells us to renegotiate our contract and cut benefits or he'll move South," Mr. Szumita retorted, growing angrier, "we're going to tell him to take his company and get the hell out of town!"

Similar scenes unfolded throughout this town of 21,000 in the early days. But the mood of defiance was hard to maintain against a faraway autocrat who held all the cards. By mid-December, it was giving way to

fear in the mill families' lives.

Already, some millworkers were being idled in seasonal layoffs and other cutbacks. The rest were picking up their weekly paychecks not knowing whether each payment would be their last. Then, the week before Christmas, the mill was idled for repairs to a smokestack. There was no work and no pay.

Suddenly, what bravado remained had an air of desperation. "I ain't going to let Al Dunlap spoil Christmas," Norm Gagnon sang out a little too brightly on a cold morning as sunshine streamed into his new kitchen.

Last spring, Mr. Gagnon, 48, who had worked at the mill since 1974 as a carding-machine operator, and his wife Sharilyn, took out a \$75,000 bank loan to remodel their home. That was a lot of money for a couple whose combined income at the time — she made \$11.99 an hour as a trouble-shooter in the spinning unit, he earned \$10.44 — totaled \$900 a week. But, they figured, with overtime and with the extra money they made from their home photo-and-video sideline and her work as an Avon lady, they could afford to meet the repayments and pay the extra property taxes, totaling \$300 a week.

"If we'd known what was coming we'd have never taken that loan," Mrs. Gagnon said. "But we're better off than most because we work at other jobs." Under a Christmas tree in the living room were piles of brightly wrapped gifts. "We saved \$1,500 in our Christmas club," she added. "Not even Dunlap was going to take Christmas away from us."

She was wrong. Two days before Christmas, Mr. Gagnon was laid off with 37 other millworkers. The gift exchange with relatives the next day was a somber affair, and things have not improved. Now on \$210-a-week unemployment, Mr. Gagnon has found little in the help-wanted ads that offers him much hope. "The only jobs listed were picking shrimp or working in a warehouse for six or seven bucks an hour," he reported.

The threat of losing their textile jobs — and dropping down the economic ladder to within a couple of rungs of the minimum wage — haunts the workforce. Millwork is hard, dusty, noisy and repetitive, requiring a high tolerance for boredom. But here, at least, it beats the alternatives.

"In most cities the mills would be considered employers of last resort, but in Biddeford it's the cream," said Charles Butler Jr., head of the local historical society. "Jobs pass down in families from one generation to the next because the wages and health benefits are good compared to anything else available in town."

Marge Perry, 39, a single mother who earns \$12.37 an hour as a weaver, foresees a grim future if the Sunbeam plant closes. There is only one other textile plant in town, owned by West Point Stevens of West Point, Ga., but openings are scarce. About the only other job prospects are low-paying, menial work. "I'll have to work two jobs just to make what I do now," she said wearily.

But maybe the mill won't close, after all.

If there is a hero in this story, it is probably Rene Boisvert, Biddeford Textile's top executive who resigned in December rather than oversee the possible destruction of the company he had helped create.

As quiet as Mr. Dunlap is brash, Mr. Boisvert (his full name is pronounced RAIN-ee BO-vye) is the model boss who came up through the ranks. Though he refuses to give his age, he says he started out 43 years ago on the production line at the Biddeford mill, then owned by West Point-Pepperell (since renamed West Point Stevens). When West Point-Pepperell's blanket division was having problems, Mr. Boisvert helped arrange its sale to Sunbeam in 1971. It was then renamed Biddeford Textile, with Mr. Boisvert in charge.

After Sunbeam took over, ultimately becoming the only producer of electric blankets in the country, he never forgot his roots, making a practice of strolling on the production floor in his shirt sleeves and soliciting the workers' views on pro-

duction improvements. His former charges talk about him in tones approaching reverence, and at first, his departure prompted despair.

"We feel Rene was the only one looking out for the workers," Mrs. Gagnon said. But instead of heading for the sunny South, Mr. Boisvert got into the thick of negotiations to find a way to salvage his mill.

The discussions, involving city and state officials, the union and Sunbeam, had begun almost as soon as Mr. Dunlap announced his intention to rid his company of the plant. Sunbeam assigned its investment bank, Chase Securities, a unit of Chase Manhattan, the task of seeking potential buyers. The union, for its part, engaged American Capital Strategies of Bethesda, Md., an investment bank that specializes in helping labor unions develop employee stock ownership plans to buy their companies, troubled or not. American Strategies helped Northwest Airlines employees with a limited buyout in 1993, for example.

As January came and went without any developments, the remaining management team appeared as much in the dark as the workers about the mill's fate. "Just like us, they don't know if they'll have a job when they show up for work tomorrow," said Ms. Perry, the weaver.

Adding to the somber tone was news in January that a profitable Sunbeam unit in McMinnville, Tenn., which had been spared the Dunlap ax in November, was being closed and the operation moved to Mexico, at a loss of \$50 jobs.

As the talks in Biddeford progressed, details of a possible solution leaked out. An outside investor — Michael Liberry, a Portland real-estate developer — was willing to take a large stake in a new company that would buy the plant from Sunbeam for an unspecified sum. His two equity partners would be American Capital Strategies and the millworkers, who would make pay and benefits concessions in return for their stake.

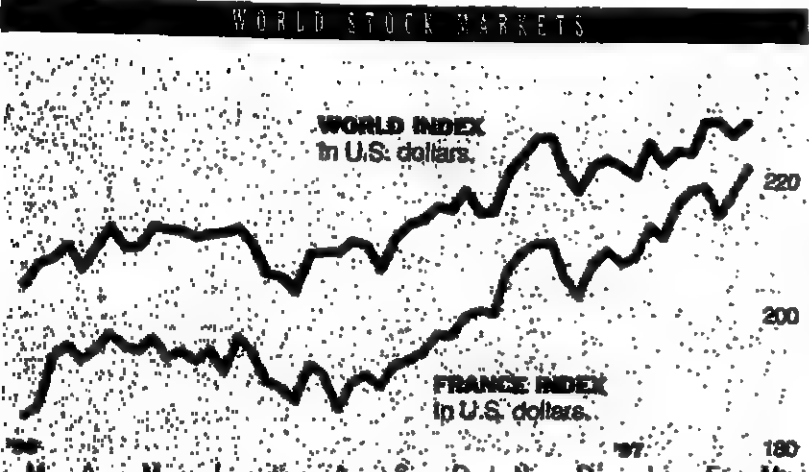
Mr. Dunlap, professing enthusiasm for the proposed agreement, pledged to continue buying the blankets for several years. He also said he would welcome efforts by the new company to sell blankets to other buyers; already, it sells one-tenth of its annual production to airlines and prisons.

And running the show, as of old, would be Mr. Boisvert, who would take the title of president and chief executive of the new concern.

The prospect of Mr. Boisvert's return heartened the rank and file as nothing else had throughout the cold winter. "Rene is well-off enough to be playing golf in Florida this winter, but he really cares about the people who work at the mill and what happens to them," said a union member who requested anonymity, fearing that any comment on the record might be seized by Mr. Dunlap as an excuse to torpedo talks.

Late last month, the group signed a letter of intent with Sunbeam to buy the mill and was given exclusive rights to close the deal by later this month. Confidentiality agreements have kept all the principals and their agents from commenting on all aspects of the pact.

However, a Sunbeam official said the company was "confident" the sale to the workers could be achieved. John DeSimone, Sunbeam's director of investor relations, said Sunbeam had talked with other potential buyers, but that the Biddeford group "is our first choice of the organizations we would like to sell the company to." Mr. DeSimone also said that Sunbeam was prepared to offer the worker group a five-year guaranteed supply contract. Sunbeam's agreement to buy all its electric-blanket shells from the Biddeford mill would give the factory a secure base for growth. And growth seems possible for this mill, especially now that Sunbeam is the only producer of electric blankets in the United States. Though electric-blanket sales dipped in the early 1990's, corresponding with consumer concern about the possible link between cancer and the electromagnetic fields they generate, those fears have been allayed somewhat by a National Research Council study that found no evidence of such a hazard. The Biddeford mill, meanwhile, has been modernized and it doubled production of electric-blanket shells from two million in 1990 to four million last year.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	221.84	1.5	14	-0.0	20	4.06	186.83	0.5		
Austria	184.35	-0.3	18	-2.9	23	1.77	164.68	8.3		
Belgium	236.38	0.4	16	3.8	16	3.16	206.61	15.8		
Brazil	240.48	3.3	2	26.8	1	1.31	485.93	28.4		
Britain	283.78	0.7	15	0.2	19	3.73	262.20	5.9		
Canada	201.42	2.0	8	6.1	7	1.85	199.51	5.9		
Denmark	366.95	1.5	13	4.3	13	1.35	326.93	15.8		
Finland	265.30	2.4	5	8.0	5	1.93	285.63	20.2		
France	223.73	1.8	11	4.5	12	2.50	203.31	18.5		
Germany	198.79	1.6	12	4.6	11	1.46	177.64	16.7		
Hong Kong	486.46	-0.8	19	-4.1	26	3.18	483.57	-4.0		
Indonesia	241.93	-3.8	27	8.0	8	1.50	355.31	7.4		
Ireland	333.54	-1.5	23	1.4	18	3.11	302.24	10.4		
Italy	87.57	3.7	1	4.9	10	1.92	111.36	17.5		
Japan	113.93	-2.9	26	-11.7	27	0.89	87.82	-7.3		
Malaysia	641.05	-2.1	25	6.3	6	1.04	612.71	4.4		
Mexico	1,348.22	-1.4	22	10.5	3	0.93	11,820.59	12.6		
Netherlands	350.18	-1.9	9	4.2	15	2.47	309.39	16.6		
New Zealand	88.43	2.8	3	-3.6	25	4.28	66.82	-3.4		
Norway	305.01	0.1	17	3.2	17	2.10	287.25	12.1		
Philippines	202.14	-2.1	24	-0.7	22	0.65	265.16	-0.7		
Singapore	418.60	-1.4	21	-0.3	21	1.00	278.56	2.2		
South Africa	357.39	-0.9	20	12.2	2	2.40	348.35	7.0		
Spain	212.71	2.3	7	-3.2	24	2.73	234.39	8.2		
Sweden	439.78	2.4	6	4.2	14	2.07	500.91	17.5		
Switzerland	252.86	2.5	4	6.0	9	1.29	232.79	17.2		
Thailand	75.84	-7.7	28	-20.8	28	4.28	78.40	-19.9		
United States	327.15	1.8	10	8.4	4	1.83	327.15	8.4		

COMPOSITE INDICES				
Europe	248.07	1.5	2.7	2.64
Pacific Basin	135.33	-2.3	-9.0	1.40
Europe/Pacific	181.47	-0.2	-2.7	2.10
World	230.51	0.8	2.8	1.96

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES				
Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	121.82	120.22	+1.33	105.86
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7145	1.6803	+1.43	1.4842
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3691	1.3677	+0.10	1.3687
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6013	1.6295	-1.73	1.5234

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

March 3-7: Data on Strong Job Growth Push the Dow Over 7,000 Again

PRICES		
DOMESTIC EQUITIES		
Broad market	Up 1.79%	804.97
S. & P. 500 index		
Blue chips	Up 1.79%	7,000.89
Dow 30 industrials		
Small capitalization	Up 1.50%	365.46
Russell 2000 index		

DOMESTIC BONDS		
Treasuries	Down 0.01%	194.56
Ryan Labs. Total Return		
Municipals	Down 0.32%	116.31
Bond Buyer Index		
Corporates	Up 0.16%	852.28
Merrill Lynch Master index		

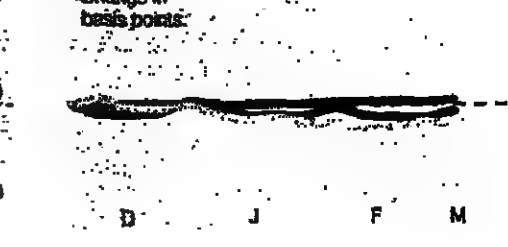
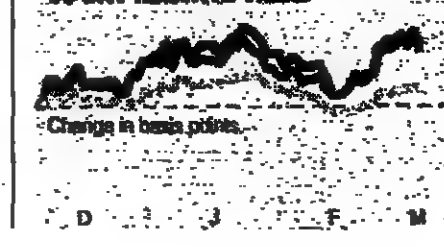
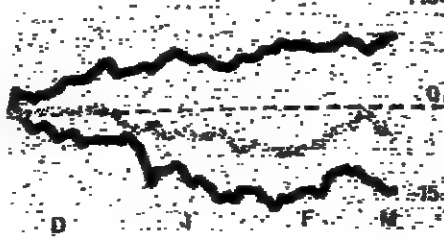
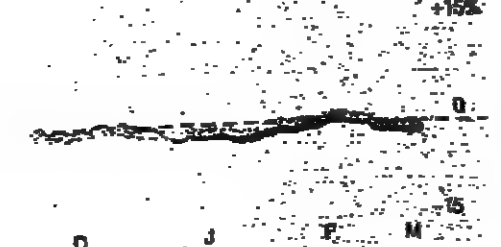
AROUND THE WORLD		
European stocks	Up 1.49%	246.07
F.T.-Actuaries Europe		
Asian stocks	Down 2.30%	135.33
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin		
Gold	Down 4.16%	\$349.90
New York cash price		

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS		
BONDS		
Long bonds	6.81%	
30-year Treasuries	Up 1 basis pt.	
Notes	6.06%	
2-year Treasuries	Down 2 basis pts.	
Municipals	5.79%	
Bond Buyer index	Up 3 basis pts.	

OTHER INVESTMENTS		
Money market funds	4.84%	
Taxable average	Up 4 basis pts.	
Bank C.D.'s	5.06%	
1-year small savers	Up 1 basis pt.	
Stocks	1.88%	
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 3 b.p.	

100 basis points = 1 percentage point



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream, Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

The New York Times

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A Moment for Reform

President Clinton used his press conference to sketch a kind of alternate universe. It was a fluid performance in Mr. Clinton's best slide-and-ride style. But most Americans do not believe in a universe where Johnny Chung hustles Presidential photo ops, Vice President Al Gore's telephoning is described as a model of political dignity and Maggie Williams's palming of a \$50,000 check is praised as artful handling of a strained social situation. In this through-the-looking-glass world, Mr. Clinton makes the systematized access-peddling sound like an exercise in Athenian democracy in one breath and calls on Congress to outlaw such behavior in the next.

In the face of such artful disinformation in the East Room and dodging in Congress, the reformers' challenge is not to lose sight of what is needed from law enforcement and legislators and not to lose hope that in the most tumultuous ethical storm since Watergate, there is still an opportunity for watershed reform. Here is an overview for those who want to redraw the reality of Clinton World:

The China Connection

The disclosures about inappropriate or illegal foreign fund-raising by the Clinton campaign have long justified the appointment of an independent counsel, and Senate pressure will soon drive Attorney General Janet Reno to do her duty. But under the theory that scandals that keep rising must also converge, Kenneth Starr, the Independent Counsel investigating the Whitewater case, has crossed a line from Whitewater to look at the Riady pipeline and sources of questionable funds for the Clinton campaign. The link is through Webster Hubbell, the former Associate Attorney General who left office under the Whitewater cloud and went to prison for stealing money from his legal client. Mr. Starr wonders why Mr. Hubbell, though discredited, got large payments from businesses controlled by the Riadys of Indonesia, and whether the payments could have been made to keep him from disclosing what he knew about the Clintons' finances.

Critics of the Clinton fund-raising machine are accused of being more curious about Democrats than Republicans. But if there were no Republicans in the world, law enforcement officials would still have a duty to find out what benefits the Riadys might have gotten for their generosity toward both Mr. Hubbell and the Democratic campaign effort and what role the Chinese Government played. Similarly, those same officials would be obliged to ask whether, in the areas of "soft money" solicitation and the awarding of access, the activities of Mr. Clinton, Mr. Gore, Ms. Williams, Harold Ickes and Democratic Party officials were legal. The undisputed facts about White House activities in 1996 are so serious that Ms. Reno's delay is shocking. If it continues, Mr. Starr will be justified in making the China connection a major focus of his inquiry.

The White House

In his press conference, Mr. Clinton was careful to avoid saying that he thought he was being persecuted for what the Republicans have been doing for years. The question is worth examining, for the current system of selling access for corporate and to a lesser extent labor union money is a bipartisan invention. Both Democratic and G.O.P. Congressional leaders have also blocked efforts to outlaw the system. Mr. Clinton's immediate predecessors had their Eagle and Team 100 contributors, who paid as much as \$100,000 for White House invitations and souvenir photos with the President. Ronald Reagan gave space in the Executive Office Building to his California contributors, the so-called kitchen cabinet, to vet personnel appointments.

But the statistical evidence that we have seen indicates that the Clinton team peddled harder and more recklessly. The Democrats say there were perhaps 50 "coffees" for fund-raisers in the Reagan-Bush years. That is about four per year, as compared with the 25 per year held by the Democrats in the last four years. George Bush had some fund-raisers stay overnight, though Mr. Reagan appears never to have opened the residence to such people. Mr. Bush had 284 guests at the White House, compared with 938 for the Clintons. In a statement, Mr. Bush said he never coordinated his invitations with his party's contributor list the way Mr. Clinton did.

In sum, no President has used the White House on the scale of Mr. Clinton. News of this behavior has created a furor because the American people were shocked by the crudeness of the Clinton effort. Most people are also repelled by the attitude that any statute the Administration violates is immediately demoted from "Federal law" to an inconvenient "legalism" that only the pickiest of partisans would expect to see observed in the White House.

Of course, tackiness and bad taste are not illegal. But the laws against soliciting or receiving campaign money on Federal property were not invented just to make life inconvenient for Al Gore. They are among the earliest reforms of the Progressive Era, aimed at eliminating gross corruption in government. Like some laws, their distinctions seem technical in nature and subject to evasion through loopholes. But they are good laws because they establish boundaries, and they instill an atmosphere of propriety among those serving in government. They ought to be elevated by the President and Vice President instead of being downgraded to the moral weight of a holding penalty.

Attorney General Reno has offered the grotesque argument that the making of phone calls and receiving of checks on Federal property do not constitute the kind of election law violations contemplated in the Federal special prosecutor statute. The money, she said in her press conference, was not, strictly speaking, for a particular political campaign as defined in the election law. As they say in California, hello? Ms. Reno must be the only person on the planet who thinks that all those calls by all those people were for something other than the reelection of Mr. Clinton. We are witnessing here a turning point in terms of the applicability of ethics laws that have been on the books in some cases for decades. At the very least, there is a desperate need for this to be clarified, and only an independent prosecutor can do it.

The Congress

Let us say it again. Yes, of course, Congressional fund-raising is corrupt at the core, too. Senator Trent Lott and the Republicans should not get away with having the Hill focus exclusively on illegality in fund-raising. The better course is to expose soft money and other tricks. Perhaps we are moving fitfully in that direction. After a long tussle, the Republicans in the Senate have at least agreed on a budget and timetable for the hearings to be conducted and completed by the end of the year under the leadership of Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee.

But Mr. Lott and the Republican majority are doing a disservice similar to Ms. Reno's in restricting the hearings too narrowly. We agree with the Democrats that the committee should look into abuses as well as illegalities of the entire campaign finance system at the Presidential and Congressional levels. The legal subterfuges used by all sides to raise money outside the spending limits imposed by Federal election laws are the most important abuse to surface in 1998, and both sides did it.

But if Mr. Lott keeps the committee on a short leash, Senator Thompson is tough and clever enough to find ways to probe the methods that both parties used to harvest and spend money outside the ceilings imposed by the election laws.

He can also go public with the need for a broader mandate and with the abundant evidence that Republicans sold Congressional access in the same way that the Democrats sold White House access. The Republican Congressional Committee, for example, promised big donors monthly private dinners with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the House leadership and House committee chairmen and members. Senator Thompson has not always been convincing that he will be truly bipartisan in his approach, but he is a forceful orator who has the potential of embarrassing his own party's leadership into holding across-the-board hearings.

The Historic Opportunity

There is a reason the great debates of the last four years over health care reform, clean water, tobacco, telecommunications, regulatory changes and many other issues were awash with money. Legislators used those debates to wring money out of people who wanted to buy certain outcomes. But it would be a mistake to reason from this that there has been no progress in cleaning up politics.

The last great burst of reforms occurred, of course, after the Watergate scandals, leading to public financing of Presidential campaigns, limits on contributions and more disclosure of where money was coming from. Those were momentous changes. Reformers could at last document the exact role of special interests, and as a nation, we learned that the buying of influence was more entrenched than even the most cynical commentators had suspected. But the Watergate reforms did not clean up the system for a simple reason. The general assumption that disclosure laws would shame candidates into avoiding special-interest money was wrong. Instead of being shamed, Democrats and Republicans saw in the political-action committee, or PAC, a device for the more efficient collection of special-interest money. An ensuing tidal wave of shamelessness crested in the 1996 election.

It is that wave that is battering the Clinton White House. It ought to be battering Congress, too, and Republicans like Mr. Lott and Democratic leaders like Senator Tom Daschle fear just such a development. That is why so many members on both sides want to limit Senator Thompson's hearings.

But reform does not move forward in a uniform and balanced way. It moves by a step here, a step there, and each opportunity to take a step must be grabbed. That is why the legal and Congressional inquiries into White House fund-raising have to move forward independently of legislation to change the system. The time for new laws will then come, and it could still come at the same time as the public responds to Senator Thompson's hearings.

We had often expressed the hope that Mr. Clinton would seize the opportunity for leadership on this issue, thereby repairing himself politically and serving the reform movement and the nation. He has seldom spoken with more seamless ease than he did on Friday, but while Mr. Clinton was talking, the opportunity passed yet again. He did not reach for it. He did not, in fact, seem to notice it.

Palestinians Can't Accept a Fig-Leaf State

To the Editor:

William Safire's "Build Those Houses" (column, March 2), on the decision by Israel to build thousands of Jewish homes in the Har Homa area of Jerusalem, reveals either ignorance or cynicism, or both.

He tells us that this action, by helping to maintain the "unity" of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, helps to guarantee peace. He goes on to depict it as part of a larger

strategy in which the most Palestinians can "realistically expect" is "a state with a flag and a U.N. seat but limits on air and water rights; half the arable land of the West Bank, made contiguous through the most creative gerrymandering; and economic opportunity linked to democratic progress."

This is not a formula for peace but a guarantee of unending blood-

shed. The Palestinians would be asked to accept a fig-leaf state whose airspace and water would be largely under the control of a foreign power and whose land would be dotted with armed settlements of the citizens of that power. Moreover, conditioning "economic progress" on "democratic progress" is a recipe for mischief. Who is to decide when "progress" is being made? Israel? Then such a finding will never occur. Meanwhile, Israel will go on trying to create "facts on the ground." It will have an incentive for doing whatever it takes to keep the Palestinian state from succeeding as a state — and the power to economically strangle that state.

What's the solution? I don't know. But what's planned for Har Homa isn't part of it. ERIC B. LIPPS
Slaton Island, March 3, 1997

Could Global Warming Submerge Us All?

To the Editor:

There is a sad irony in your March 2 front-page article "In Pacific, Growing Fear of Paradise Engulfed": Sea-level rise associated with global warming is likely to inundate some of these islands and to make many others uninhabitable, a feat that 23 nuclear detonations on Bikini couldn't achieve.

For islanders, the "weapon" in this case is the burning of fossil fuels. Resulting carbon dioxide emissions are likely to produce the fastest global warming since civilization's dawn, accompanied by a global average sea-level rise that is expected to submerge a large area of wetlands, beaches and inhabited coastal zones. Unrestrained climate change poses a threat to all.

MICHAEL OPPENHEIMER
New York, March 5, 1997
The writer is a physicist at the Environmental Defense Fund.

To the Editor:

Re your March 2 front-page article on disappearing Pacific islands: The sea-level rise from global warming that the Marshall Islands and Micronesia face also threatens the Caribbean, Chesapeake Bay, Red Bank, N.J., and ocean communities along the northeast shores of the United States. The gravest danger that the Caribbean



Jochem Gertner

encounters from global warming comes each summer in the form of hurricanes. In 1996, the region was battered by 19 storms and hurricanes. The United States and other developed countries are destroying our climate by emitting billions of tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. The civilization created after 1492 is consuming itself rapidly, threatening our islands with destruction. LIONEL A. HURST
Ambassador of Antigua and Barbuda
Washington, March 4, 1997

Cloning Research and a Brave New World

To the Editor:

President Clinton's rush to prohibit Federal financing for research into human cloning is premature (news article, March 5).

For the first Rhodes Scholar to occupy the White House, he's acting more like a medieval theologian. Imagine living at the time of Galileo's breakthrough and having government respond by banning the telescope! DENNIS G. KUBY
Berkeley, Calif., March 5, 1997

Liberty Loophole

To the Editor:

President Clinton, in regard to the ban on Federal financing for the creation of human embryos, said "there

are loopholes that could allow the cloning of human beings if the technology were developed" (news article, March 5). He is right. The loophole is the same loophole that precludes the Government from deciding who is fit to bear children. It's called liberty. PETER WIZENBERG
New York, March 5, 1997

Humanity's Loss

To the Editor:

A March 3 front-page article says that to most people, "the idea of cloning is frightening... an Orwellian universe where the essence of humanity has been lost and the fact of it has been cheapened."

This is ironic, because a large number of people seem to think it's acceptable to discard a fetus that would become a human being if left untouched. What could be more terrifying to those who fear the cheapening of humanity? SYLVIA SEYMOUR
New York, March 4, 1997

Good Move at C.I.A.

To the Editor:

It is heartening that the Central Intelligence Agency has decided to dump 100 intelligence "assets" because of the murderous behavior of these foreign agents (news article, March 3). What I do not understand is why our Government does not bear legal (if not moral) responsibility for the human rights abuses committed by those on its payroll.

Perhaps if the Government were to be held civilly liable or if the individual officers who hired these people were to be charged with criminal offenses, we would not be so cavalier about having individuals who are known human rights abusers working for us. MARK GIBNEY
West Lafayette, Ind., March 5, 1997

Dolly's Genetic Lineage

To the Editor:

All mammalian cells have nuclear DNA and mitochondrial DNA in their cytoplasm. Dolly, the cloned sheep that is the product of the union of nuclear DNA from one organism and a host ovum, has a mixed genetic lineage (front page, March 3).

As we grapple with this technology, we must avoid biological reductionism. A first step is to appreciate the molecular complexity of Dr. Ian Wilmut's creation. JOSEPH J. FINS, M.D.
New York, March 4, 1997

Science, Not Cost, Guides G.E. Policy on Hudson River Cleanup

To the Editor:

As you note (editorial, March 2), the issue of what, if anything, to do about the polychlorinated biphenyls, or PCB's, bound up in sediments of the upper Hudson River is again at center stage. In 1984 the Environmental Protection Agency said those sediments, which resulted from General Electric's legal discharge of PCB's decades before, posed a "decreasing threat to public health and the environment." The agency rejected dredging as unreliable and potentially catastrophic to the environment.

Now you and the public are struggling to understand what the E.P.A.'s most recent report about the river means. What is needed is more light on the science and the ramifications of potential solutions.

For example, you point to a key scientific and technical issue that must be resolved before a solution is picked: Do PCB's flowing out of a six-mile stretch called the Thompson Island Pool come from old, deeply buried sediments, or are they seeping from sources upstream that G.E. is committed to finding and fixing?

While cost is important, making the wrong choice has broad implications. If the mud at the bottom isn't causing the problem, moving it will not reduce risk. If the mud isn't causing the prob-

lem, the disruption of any dredging and landfilling program will be cruel to the agricultural and tourism economy of the upper Hudson.

The E.P.A. has misread science that points to the mud as not being the problem. The agency has discounted measurements that show our remediation of upstream sources is having beneficial effects. We have launched a thorough investigation of the Thompson Island Pool, which the E.P.A. has declined to join.

The E.P.A. seems to have set a course toward the riskiest, least effective and most disruptive solution, not the one that serves the broadest interest. STEPHEN D. RAMSEY
Vice Pres., Senior Electric Co.
Fairfield, Conn., March 7, 1997

To the Editor:

Re "The PCB War Heats Up" (editorial, March 2): Religious institu-

tional investors recently filed a shareholder resolution with General Electric asking the company to clean up the contamination in the Hudson River. However, not wanting this issue raised before its shareholders, the company requested and received permission from the Securities and Exchange Commission to omit the resolution from the proxy ballot.

While we await the Environmental Protection Agency's recommended steps for cleanup, strategies should be developed to warn about fish consumption from the Hudson. This must be accomplished immediately as welfare cuts force more subsistence fishing along the river. (Sister) PATRICIA A. DALY
Newton, Mass., March 4, 1997

The writer is a member of the governing board of Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.

Trials of Shopping

To the Editor:

I concur with your March 4 Business Day article reporting there has been a dramatic decline of customer service in department stores.

The trend toward equipping retailing with real estate has curbed my purchasing in department stores. When I want an item of clothing and have to thumb through racks of Calvin Klein, Ann Taylor, Tracy, Liz Claiborne and Donna Karan, I become so frustrated, confused and weary that I end up buying nothing.

Remember the days when you could find skirts, blouses or pants all together in one defined part of any store? I do! LEE ROSENFIELD
New York, March 4, 1997

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China Policy: Means and Ends

By Laura D'Andrea Tyson

RECENTLY, the media have been full of innuendo that the Clinton Administration's policies toward China have been influenced, if not bought outright, by Asian business contributions to the President's 1996 campaign. As one of the architects of those policies, I know firsthand that there is no basis for such allegations.

Our approach to China has been crafted by economic, national security and foreign policy experts from many Federal agencies who have debated options, sometimes heatedly, but always on their merits and always with the goal of serving American interests. Reasonable people can disagree about the effectiveness of the Administration's approach, but they should understand its overriding motivation and its underlying logic.

This approach starts with the simple notion that the United States is best served over the long run by China's stable evolution toward a more open, more democratic, more market-oriented system based on the rule of law. The logic of our policy also depends, however, on a realistic assessment of the means at our disposal. Critics of Administration policy too frequently overlook this distinction between means and ends.

Consider the Administration's often-criticized support for renewal of China's most-favored-nation trading status in each of the last four years. Some critics allege that the White House has sacrificed human rights goals for crass commercial ones. Others have gone even further and argued that the Administration's trade decisions have been bought by the lobbying efforts of American multinationals or of Asian business interests. Both accusations are wrong.

Improving human rights conditions in China is an essential part of our long-term goal. But the Administration's policy makers, supported by China experts at home and abroad, believe that withholding most-favored-nation status for China would not promote — and would even impede — our achieving this objective. Nothing in China's history or in the history of economic sanctions suggests that revoking the country's most-favored-nation trade status — which would amount to imposing unilateral economic sanctions on Chinese goods — would impel Beijing to ease its human rights stance. Nor have China's other trading partners been willing to join the United States in multilateral sanctions against the Chinese.

Certainly by withholding its most-favored-nation status, America could hurt China's economy, but it would undermine our long-run goal for at least two reasons.

First, it would cause a dramatic deterioration in our overall diplomatic relations with China and in our ability to negotiate on other important aspects of our relationship like nonproliferation.

Second, the bulk of American imports from China come not from its state-owned enterprises but from its private or quasi-private sectors, on whose health a developing Chinese middle class and China's continued evolution toward a more democratic system depends.

This is why many China experts believe that the best way to encourage reform and democratization is to strengthen China's trade and investment ties with the rest of the world, even though this approach may yield few if any short-run improvements in human rights.

Critics often point to the apparent anomaly between the Administration's willingness to threaten economic sanctions to encourage China's adherence to trade agreements and its unwillingness to withhold favorable trading status over human-rights violations. But a dispassionate assessment of means explains away this anomaly.

The threat of specific trade sanctions has proved effective in getting China (and many of our other trading partners) to stop violating trade agreements. Such sanctions can be fashioned to be commensurate with the economic costs that such violations have imposed on American businesses.

Consider the dispute over the protection of intellectual property. Precisely crafted sanctions encouraged

The Clinton strategy is based on principles, not politics.

the Chinese to respect the rule of law established in last year's bilateral agreement on intellectual property and in multilateral standards of copyright protection, without jeopardizing our ability to negotiate with China on other issues at the same time. By contrast, revoking most-favored-nation status would be a blunt instrument that would bring disproportionate harm to China's private ventures.

The most recent criticism of President Clinton's policy relates to the ongoing negotiations over China's admission to the World Trade Organization. The latest round of these negotiations concluded in Geneva last week amid promising signs from



the Chinese that they are willing to meet the major conditions the Administration laid out in a blueprint several months ago.

This blueprint reflects a firm Administration resolve, shared by China's other trading partners, that China not be admitted unless it meets sound commercial conditions comparable to those met by other member countries. These conditions include commitments on improved access to China's market, greater openness in its trade and investment rules (including information on the extent of subsidies to China's state enterprises) and an end to requirements that foreign investors export the products they make in China.

As a member of the W.T.O., China would have the same responsibilities as its trading partners to honor the rules of international trade. This would curtail the power of its state decision-makers who resist opening markets, and it would strengthen the hand of economic reformers.

At the same time, we would have a powerful multilateral forum in which to resolve trade disputes with China, thereby reducing the pressure for high-stakes bilateral trade confrontations that threaten to destabilize the entire United States-China relationship.

In short, China's admission to the World Trade Organization — on commercially acceptable conditions — is probably our single most effective means of shaping a more open, market-oriented China.

Unfortunately, the recent accusations of an unholy connection between the Clinton Administration's China policy and Asian campaign contributions threaten to obscure this reality. Some members of Congress are now proposing further, unspecified conditions on China's admission to the W.T.O. as well as

Essay WILLIAM SAFIRE

The Rubin Scenario

WASHINGTON

The nation's capital is abuzz about "the Rubin scenario." It makes even the worst case rosy.

Say Clinton is taken down on a RICO count and Gore is enmeshed in fundraising litigation. The notion that the second in constitutional line — Speaker Gingrich — should succeed to the Presidency would cause such a keening national wail that Newt would have to pass it up.

Next would be the President pro tempore of the Senate, but Strom Thurmond, 94, can't raise his hand to take the oath. All eyes would then swing to the Secretary of State to become our first woman President, right?

Nope. The Constitution also demands that the Chief Executive be "natural born" (denial of a right to eight million naturalized Americans that cries out for amendment) and Madeleine Albright was born overseas, she thinks. That passes the buck to Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, who for two years has been quietly running the Government while the Clintons were entertaining upstairs.

None of this wild conjecture, of course, will happen. Bill Clinton will stagger through his term. Why report "the Rubin scenario"? To show that although we may not have a lot of immediate bench strength, this superpower will remain stable — no matter how furiously the political winds howl.

And I confess that last fall, I didn't know the half of it. Back then, you read here that Webster Hubbell, the felonious friend of the Clintons at the heart of the Whitewater case, had been paid \$250,000 by the Lippo Group — perhaps to discourage him from spilling to the Independent Counsel, Jeff Gerth and Stephen Labaton of The New York Times have just revealed that the total take from Clinton friends by the disgraced Hubbell, on the brink of his guilty plea, was over \$400,000, with the Lippo Group in for about one-fourth.

Now we can guess why Richard Ben-Veniste, counsel to Democrats undermining the Senate's Whitewater investigation, objected so vociferously last summer to questions about Hubbell's providential clients and record rush of income.

That colloquy — unpublished before the election — would have exposed the Asian Connection. Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey, on June 8, 1996, admitted learning of Hubbell's hiring by "the Riadys"; mentioned "a guy named John Huang" as if unaware of his huge fund-raising; and testified he

discussed Hubbell's financial difficulties with Marsha Scott, Mrs. Clinton's database keeper, "who is a personal friend of his and mine."

Nosy Parkers suspect Ms. Scott, who observed Hubbell's testimony from a skybox overlooking the hearing room, was a Clinton go-between in the alleviation of the Hubbell worries.

Hubbell's plea: I'm not Rapoport.

Clinton crony Truman Arnold, then about to become D.N.C. finance chairman and now a Ben-Veniste client, joined the Riadys in funding the plea bargain; oilman Arnold persuaded contributor Bernard Rapoport right after his Lincoln bedroom overnight that "we need to help Web." Even Los Angeles taxpayers chipped in.

Web, lavishly helped, kept his lip zipped. The sleepyheads in Ken Starr's shop and the lethargic crew at Justice did not think to subpoena Lippo and other documents until months after "hush money" was discussed in the press. Only lately have prosecutors and investigators come to see the Asian and other Clinton money steered to Hubbell as the bridge linking the Whitewater scandal to the foreign penetration of the White House.

With justice delayed, truth may come from Congress. The Senate will bloom in May; though Fred Thompson is now the cynosure, Maine's freshman Senator, Susan Collins, will steal the show. House Intelligence — "Hipel" to the trade — should bestir C.I.A. counterintelligence.

Follow the policy that followed Clinton friendships and donations. Silicon Graphics' Ed McCracken talked to friend Clinton about loosening strategic export restraints, and now the Russian at the Chelyabinsk-70 nuclear plant have a dangerous supercomputer. Right-wing overnighter Carl Lindner of United Fruit antes up \$415,000 and soon we'll hear about Bananagate.

Clinton and Gore — each with hand over heart as if to say "morr" — claim they did nothing wrong and promise never to do it again. At F.B.I. headquarters, agents read the newspapers and watch NBC for chutes. Small wonder a wild Rubin scenario is bruted about.

New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

Produced by the team led by Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder as Editor-in Chief, with articles contributed by professors, diplomats, journalists, politicians — all experts in their respective fields, this 1521 pp. two-volume encyclopedia presents a comprehensive reference source for anyone seeking authentic knowledge of the whole subject of Zionist history and the State of Israel.

Herzl Press Publication.

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THE PALESTINE POST

STATE OF ISRAEL IS BORN

JUST OUT

Most Cited Name in Jewish History	1948-1949 State of Israel	1948-1949 State of Israel	1948-1949 State of Israel
1. David Ben-Gurion	2. Chaim Weizmann	3. Golda Meir	4. Yitzhak Rabin
5. Menachem Begin	6. Shimon Peres	7. Yehoshua Kuperman	8. Haim Arlosoroff
9. Eliahu Ha-Levi	10. Ze'ev Jabotinsky	11. Ben-Zion	12. Aaron David Gordon
13. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	14. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	15. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	16. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson
17. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	18. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	19. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson	20. Yehoshua Herta and Paul Amirson
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Partial-Truth Abortion

The stakes for women.

In the 24 years since Roe v. Wade, American women have never been more in danger of losing their constitutional right to an abortion than they are this week — but so far, far from funny, has been the debate surrounding "partial-birth abortions" that many Americans, Congressmen included, don't have a clue as to what is really going on.

Confusion, deliberate and not, has been sowed on both sides of the issue, with each new "controversy" making the truth murkier. The latest chapter is typical. A man named Ron Fitzsimmons — routinely described in the press as a "prominent" abortion-rights leader — announced that he rights leader — when he told Ted Koppel in had "lied" when he told Ted Koppel in 1995 that there were only 500 "partial-birth abortions" in America each year; he now says there are 5,000. But as Franklin Foer reports in Slate, Mr. Fitzsimmons is not prominent; his 1995 "lie," though filmed, never aired 1995 "lie," and "there is nothing on 'Nightline'"; and "there is nothing new about what he 'revealed.'" That obscure journal The Washington Post suggested last fall that as many as several thousand of the procedures, known medically as intact dilation and extraction (IDE), may be performed each year. No reliable statistics exist.

The issue is not how many, in any event, but why at all? Even if 10,000 such abortions occurred each year, that would still be a tiny minority of America's annual 1.5 million abortions. Why would any woman choose to have a fetus pulled out by a grotesque process that requires its skull to be crushed to pass through the cervix?

Opponents of "partial-birth abortion" say these women are in the final weeks or days of pregnancy — even "just seconds" away from delivery, as Jack Kemp put it during the campaign — when they whimsically opt for "infanticide." Not true; such a scenario is already illegal. Under Roe v. Wade, states can ban all abortions in the third trimester of pregnancy, except if the health or life of the mother is at stake, and 40 states and the District of Columbia have done so. Only some 600 abortions, no matter what the procedure, occur after the sixth month of pregnancy in the U.S. each year — all involving a tragically deformed fetus or a mother in peril.

That leaves the several thousand other cases; these occur earlier, before a fetus is viable — months, not days, before delivery. But why in a country where 99 percent of abortions occur in the first 20 weeks would a woman wait any longer to have an abortion, let alone one carried out this way? Pro-lifers say such women frivolously make their "elective" choice once they find they can't fit into a prom dress. Perhaps some do. But others who delay abortions well into the second trimester are poor or rural women who must save up to afford an abortion or a trip to a provider (84 percent of American counties don't

have one); scared women delayed by fear of harassment or violence at their local clinics; teen-age girls who are either in denial or traumatized by parental notification laws (especially if the parent is also the father) or fighting those laws clandestinely in slow court proceedings; women who disastrously develop prenatal diabetes, and women who learn from amniocentesis (a second-trimester test requiring a wait for results) of severe fetal anomalies.

Why would such women then choose intact dilation and extraction? They don't; their doctors do — when they feel it's the safest choice for their patient. By the second trimester, all abortion procedures are grotesque. The principal alternative to an IDE requires the fetus's dismemberment, and it, too, could be jeopardized by the broad language of Congress's "partial-birth" ban; what's now on the line is Roe v. Wade's protection of second-trimester abortions, period.

This is why pro-lifers are right to so strenuously champion the ban; it begins the end-run process of gutting Roe v. Wade a few procedures at a time, because those who believe life begins at conception can logically argue that most abortions are "partial-birth abortions." Politicians who purport to be "pro-choice" but vote for this bill, by contrast, are bigger liars than Mr. Fitzsimmons. The "partial-birth abortion" ban does not stamp out infanticide, which is already illegal, but cripples both a woman's right to choose and a doctor's duty to recommend the safest of the uniformly awful options for carrying out that anguished choice.

MUSIC

An Orchestra Draws Music From the Stuff of Real Life

Far from bright lights and big money, an orchestra finds challenges and satisfactions.

By BERNARD HOLLAND

A CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa. LAN LAWRENCE, 40, plays the timpani in the Cedar Rapids Symphony, and not for a lot of money. Top players — and he leads his section — can expect \$85 each for five rehearsals, \$110 for the Saturday evening concert at the Paramount Theater that follows, and \$110 more for a repeat performance on Monday. For a lot of his colleagues, the numbers go from \$40 to \$60.

The orchestra plays seven pairs of subscription concerts a year, eight pops performances, three chamber and eight children's programs, and the occasional special event. You do the arithmetic; it doesn't add up to much.

From the offices of the Chicago Symphony or the New York Philharmonic, lives like these look small and far away; the rewards are pocket change next to big-city pay scales that approach \$85,000 a year for newcomers and twice that for principal musicians. From the streets of this modest Iowa city, on the other hand, it is we who appear vague, distant and perhaps irrelevant.

Mr. Lawrence's orchestra, 75 years old and one of up to 300 professional institutions in the United States, is actually somewhere in the middle of this hierarchy. It shares the turmoil and economic fears of its colleagues. It spends nowhere near the \$43 million the Boston Symphony needs each year, though with its \$1.4 million budget, it is more prosperous than neighbors who make do with a quarter of that amount.

Christian Tiemeyer is the orchestra's music director, and next to the better conductorial contracts in classical music, not for a lot of money either. Mr. Tiemeyer, 58, comes from Catonsville, Md., and studied the cello with Pablo Casals in Europe and Zara Nelsova at the Juilliard School.

Mr. Tiemeyer caught the conducting virus commonly known as "stick fever" at the Dallas Symphony, where he was principal cellist and eventually associate conductor. Later he played and conducted under Maurice Abravanel at the Utah Symphony. At one point in his career Mr. Tiemeyer was working 100 nights a year and doing it in a lot of different places. He has been in Cedar Rapids since 1982 and rarely stirs from home.

Jeff Smith, 35, is the board president of the orchestra and is about to turn the job over to James Hoffman, 43. Both men have glibly edged futures in major corporations. Kathy Hall juggles the jobs of principal bassoonist and executive director with the dictates of a teen-age son. Her days and nights are long. If she (improbably) held those jobs in New York or Boston, her two salaries might approach a half-million dollars a year.

What are these people — indeed, what is an orchestra of such solid accomplishment — doing in a town like Cedar Rapids? Well, they are living their lives. Mr. Lawrence, the timpanist, is a little out of the ordinary in a community of 110,000 and an orchestra of 75 players. He is from Midland, Tex. A majority of his fellow musicians are Iowans or went to school here.

Ms. Hall, for example, who has an advanced degree in music and is highly thought of in both of her present jobs, comes from Donnellson, 100 miles south of here, where her father operated a feed and fertilizer business. Most orchestra managements would be horrified by the prospect of Ms. Hall's negotiating with herself at contract time, but Cedar Rapids is not New York or Boston.

Mr. Lawrence is also different in that he may be moving on. He takes auditions; the most recent was in San Antonio. On the other hand, after nine seasons he has abandoned apartment life and found a house to rent, has bought himself some modestly priced health insurance, works part-time as assistant manager for classical music in a record store and tries not to worry about retirement. Most of all, he teaches. It took him time, but he has come upon values here that he is starting to like and may not be as footloose as before.

Mr. Tiemeyer, in his former life, found himself with three small children and little time to give them. From Abravanel he learned the music director's loyalty to place, as opposed to the traveling conductor's yearning to be engaged and then re-engaged. Cedar Rapids offered him a full-time job and a home. His wife, Patti, a cellist, plays in the orchestra, too.

The president-elect, Mr. Hoffman, after a high-profile stint in Washington at the MCI Corporation, has come back home to Cedar Rapids and put his children in the city's

admirable public school system. Iowa's fleeing population has reversed direction, and many of the newcomers are actually people who grew up here, left to make their fortunes and are returning to raise their children.

The Paramount Theater, where the orchestra plays, is one of those movie palace and vaudeville theater restorations found growing hopefully in downtown grids of troubled urban America. Nearby, the Cedar River runs through town. So does the Union Pacific Railroad, with its mournful horns sounding pleasantly from the tracks behind the Five Seasons Hotel.

The city's river, its tree-lined outer boulevards and the surrounding farmland promise pleasing green in another season, but downtown's dowdy 1920's office rectangles and glassy high-tech high-rises are bleak in winter. On a cold Monday evening, the Paramount marquee reads "Physicians for the Arts," acknowledging one of a number of coalitions in this city that help pay for concerts. Nine hundred ten people have come to hear Brahms and Beethoven. One thousand thirty-five heard the same program two days before, but the Monday concert has a few tricks up its sleeve.

Mr. Tiemeyer, microphone in hand, pitches his program with the fervor of an upscale car salesman. Video cameras trained on different parts of the orchestra show up-close the workings of music-making by way of screened projections on each side of the stage. On Monday, intermissions are usually done away with and the programs shortened, but the mighty Brahms B flat Piano Concerto and the Beethoven Seventh Symphony, on the program for this evening, demand a breather for all concerned.

Management is trying mightily to capture a new listenership, and the audience on Monday did have more than the usual share of young people. Why don't more come?

"A lot of people feel uncomfortable," said Mr. Smith, the president. "They don't know what to wear, when to clap. They are afraid of feeling out of place." Volunteers have formed a pre- and post-concert system of parties; a combination welcome wagon and singles bar for new people. Because many have no friends who come to concerts, a block of general-admission seats allows newcomers to pair off and sit with new-found acquaintances.

Cedar Rapids has advantages other places do not: a relatively stable society, established and generous companies like Quaker Oats, a growing high-tech industry that brings in young and educated employees, surrounding colleges and universities, and — wonder of wonders — a public school system that has not abandoned the arts.

Yet this is no Middle Western idyll of good will and plenty. The orchestra treads the same fragile, dangerous path as its colleagues large and small: with shrinking and aging audiences, higher costs, reduced government grants and competition for philanthropic gifts that are shifting everywhere in this country from arts to medical and humanitarian projects.

The parsimony runs across the board. The National Endowment for the Arts grant this year is \$12,500, down from \$18,000; the Iowa Arts Council grant is \$18,000, down from \$24,000; and the Iowa Community Cultural Grant is \$13,000, down from \$15,000. Corporate and private gifts run about a half-million dollars a year for a budget of \$1.4 million and an endowment of about the same amount.

Single-ticket sales, the backbone of popular-culture events here, have grown stubbornly but help to offset a gradual trickling away of subscriptions. Gifts are hard won.

"Every budget we make is an act of faith," said Ms. Hall, the executive director. "We don't know how many tickets we are going to sell or how much money people are actually going to give us." The orchestra earns only 38 percent of its income. (Forty percent is considered acceptable in this business.) But few cities of such modest population have an orchestra of this size and solidity.

In concert, the Cedar Rapids Symphony does not make a sound like say, the Philadelphia Orchestra, but it is not supposed to. What it does offer is tight, well-tuned ensemble, perfectly adequate principal players and sometimes very good ones, and sound musical direction. (The elusive rhythm of the Beethoven finale was correct and clear.) The Brahms concerto, at least as difficult, was made more difficult for the orchestra by Grant Johansen's extremely slow tempos in the piano part. Brahms's exposed horn and cello parts were thoroughly professional and sometimes quite beautiful.

Where experienced players in major orchestras flit with salaries of six figures, all the while complaining of artistic deprivations, this mix of old and young musicians talks with palpable delight. Some talked about their feelings the next day. They are wistful about money, they have the usual complaints about conductorial tyranny, but they love their jobs. They also seem to like where they live.



Photographs by Mark Tade for The New York Times

Upscale Salespeople Kathy Hall, executive director and principal bassoonist, and Christian Tiemeyer, music director of the orchestra.

Two contradictory impulses inform the life of this orchestra, and the combination is peculiarly American. One says that growth is good, that because this country began as a few people in a big place, survival still equals expansion. The second impulse is mistrust of central authority. In the pyramidal politics of Europe, absolute control was exercised from faraway capitals by the few over the many; those many being our ancestors. The American Revolution told central power to go away: "We can take care of ourselves; leave us alone." If the facts have changed, the impulse remains.

So Cedar Rapids measures bigness and movement against smallness and boundaries. Asked whether the orchestra's season might grow beyond its seven classical weekends, Mr. Smith said, "There is no reason for growth." In Cedar Rapids, survival equals enclosure: a finite audience served finitely.

Growth of another kind, however, is inner necessity. At a loss to pay its musicians much more money, the orchestra board must find them more work, more students to teach, more run-outs to rural communities, more festivals, fairs and special events. Idealistic as these musicians appear to be, they have pushed for more money and are settling, if only for a 2.5 percent raise in their present per-service contract. The president-elect, Mr. Hoffman, says he does not know how he can pay much more and at the same time keep up with the orchestra's bills.

Without students to teach, most members of the Cedar Rapids Symphony could not live. For Mr. Lawrence there is Coe College in town; for others, Cornell College, 20 miles away. Wayne Thelander, a bass player in the orchestra and an employee of the public schools, could be found one recent morning rehearsing a string ensemble of 14-year-olds for a communal citywide concert.

The more common outlet for player-teachers is the Symphony School, founded 10 years ago and run by Stephanie Wager. It is an unusual coalition between schools and the symphony by which two independent parties — each with its own agenda, its own shortcomings and its own needs — contractually agree to exchange services. An intensive third-grade string program in the schools has become as much a part of schoolwork as multiplication tables. Students get vouchers for concert tickets. Symphony musicians teach classes and after-school private lessons. Jocelyn Langworthy, the recently hired principal clarinetist, says she already has 40 pupils a week.

Two doctors play in the Cedar Rapids Symphony, along with an engineer, some school teachers, many freelance professionals and professors and graduate students from nearby universities and colleges. The principal flutist, Jane Walker, is a 25-year member. She and her husband operate a music store specializing in woodwind and brass repertory in nearby Iowa City. Blanche Lawrence has played in the violin section since 1931, when she was 14. Ms. Lawrence can remember a time in the orchestra's 75-year history when a fall concert would feature the first two movements of a symphony,

and the spring concert the third and fourth.

The parents of William Preucil, the concertmaster of the Cleveland Orchestra, have been longtime members. There are more and more young players on the move and passing through, happy for employment. So hair-raising is the competition for orchestra jobs nationally that recent auditions for principal clarinet at-

tracted candidates from music schools as lofty as Yale's.

A lot of this clarinetist's Yale classmates probably never heard of the Cedar Rapids Symphony, and those who have probably do not include it in their daydreams of success. If so, these calm farmland people of eastern Iowa don't seem to care. Their orchestra has neither record labels nor Carnegie Hall on

its mind. Its musicians live in a place, and they are about that place. Prosperity lies not over the next mountain but next door.

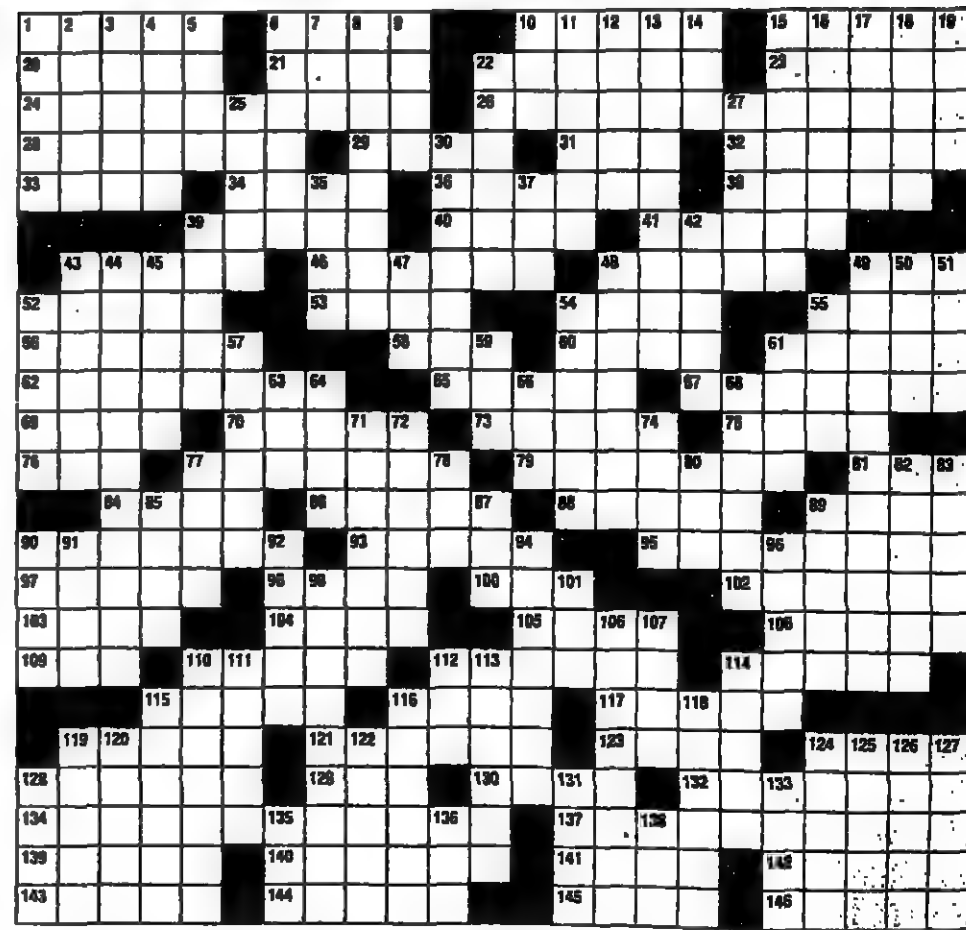
"New York has no more relevance for Cedar Rapids, Iowa, than Cedar Rapids has for New York," said Mr. Tiemeyer over dinner one evening. "Each life is important, and Cedar Rapids is our life. This is real for us."

MONTHLY MEETINGS

BY JUNE BOGGS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Sponge
- 6 Iconoclastic comedian
- 10 South Africa's first P.M.
- 15 Sap
- 20 Think a lot of
- 21 Ensemble part
- 22 Commandment subjects
- 23 Pineapple island
- 24 Sailor's cry
- 26 Forty?
- 28 Continue to the end
- 29 Stuffing seasoning
- 31 Clear
- 32 1936 Loretta Young film role
- 33 Liches
- 34 Second person in the Bible
- 36 Approaching
- 38 First name in society
- 39 Take the wrong way?
- 40 1932 skiing gold medalist Unterstrom
- 41 Agamemnon's sister-in-law
- 43 Dog on "Frasier"
- 46 Heiress, maybe
- 48 Subject of monthly reading
- 49 Lady racer Guthrie
- 52 Monitor
- 53 Flushing stadium
- 54 Onstage A.C. chief and family
- 55 Downyflake rival
- 56 Put on a show
- 58 Virus type
- 60 Part of the Winnebago nation
- 61 Less ruddy
- 62 Dress
- 65 New York nosh
- 67 Trembling
- 69 Hydrocarbon suffixes
- 70 Class division
- 73 Sandhurst send-offs
- 75 Earned a citation?
- 76 Barber of renown
- 77 Lure of New Orleans
- 79 Churchill Downs drink
- 81 "We Do Our Part" org.
- 84 Parsley's pungent relative
- 86 Where Mocha is
- 88 Hardly enthusiastic
- 89 Largest land carnivore
- 90 Concerns
- 93 Pluck
- 95 Dessert wine
- 97 Part of "the works"
- 98 Women's casual
- 100 G.I.'s suppliers
- 102 Truth, to Trotsky
- 103 Senator succeeded by Cleveland
- 104 Injury
- 105 8-Down sound
- 106 Beats
- 109 Sound of reproach
- 110 Deposit
- 112 Guard of myth
- 114 Kind of footing
- 115 Plug
- 116 Blue-green
- 117 Not yet scheduled
- 119 Head for the ranch?
- 121 Playing Our Song (1979 song)
- 123 Calyx components
- 124 Pizarro's capital



DOWN

- 1 Like some skins
- 2 Allan
- 3 Single-named 60's singer
- 4 Zane and Lady Jane
- 5 A Saarinen
- 6 Reassure
- 7 Former org. of the Pacers and the Spurs
- 8 Guffaw
- 9 Mother of 41-Across
- 10 "Phoogy!"
- 11 It circles Uranus
- 12 Morrison and others request
- 13 Lunch counter
- 14 Start of a Faulkner title
- 15 TV family name
- 16 "Dallas" co-star
- 17 Kind of suit
- 18 Heavenly gift
- 19 Site of a famous campaign
- 22 Boxcars

- 25 Western copper center
- 27 Fearish
- 30 Place to put a tiger?
- 35 — Bridge, St. Louis
- 37 La Méditerranée, e.g.
- 39 Parts of pedigrees
- 42 And the following: Lat.
- 43 Fine fur
- 44 Mickey
- 45 Spoils, with "on"
- 47 "What's with —?"
- 48 CH
- 49 Heebie-jeebies
- 50 The Rome of Hungary
- 51 Loyalist
- 52 Westernizer of Russia
- 54 Became ungued
- 55 Leaf gatherer
- 57 Make squiggles
- 59 Tunnel traveler
- 61 Founder of New York's Public Theater
- 63 Claustrophobe's nightmare, for short
- 64 Tense
- 66 Cartesian conclusion
- 68 Gone
- 71 Monk, maybe
- 72 Branched
- 74 Motor oil additives
- 77 Prized game fish
- 78 Reason for an R rating
- 80 Addams portrayal, in film
- 82 Produced no more
- 83 Some are restricted

- 85 It's a scorcher
- 87 Frostiness
- 89 Vegetarian's staple
- 90 Practice
- 91 — probandi
- 92 Beat it
- 94 Gave off, as vapor
- 96 Steelhead, e.g.
- 99 Fruit pastry
- 101 Slump
- 106 Philodendron, e.g.
- 107 Held on the stage
- 110 Early arrival
- 111 Blackmore heroine
- 112 "Blue River" actress, 1995
- 113 Collectible, maybe
- 114 Sauce made with pine nuts
- 115 Hawk
- 116 Crow's home
- 118 Deli necessity
- 119 Lab specimens
- 120 Principles
- 122 Like good computer screens, informally
- 124 Great Western Forum player
- 125 With about dozen
- 126 Prides of Libya
- 127 Existential woe
- 128 Last item
- 131 Wood social
- 133 Graft recipient
- 135 Bing Crosby's record label
- 136 Org. founded in 1970
- 138 Interim rollers

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SUCCESSFUL
ISRAELI LUMPTON
FELT LIKE A LUMPTON
TUNNEL TRAVELER
SPECK DEFEND
DATE
WHEN SIXTYFOUR
TAO SPEEDY
ELN KOREA DALL
ALE IPS RIMOSA
BARE FORTYNINERS
GENS HEARED
GENS HEARD
ASHARP GOOSE
GRO OREARDED
REV BUDD IAN
EHE ERS CONTRA
AERIAL DOTH AUGE
TWENTYFIVEORST
WASTE OVERLAP
ELTON BASSETS
CHREES

Iranian exiles prepare to overthrow ayatollah

Dozens of men and women in smart olive-green military uniforms end their day at Camp Ashraf with a unified shout: "When the command comes, we will not hesitate!"

The camp is in Iraq, but the words are in the Iranian language, Farsi, and the order they await is to march on Teheran.

Camp Ashraf is one of five bases maintained in Iraq by the National Liberation Army, a force of 30,000 Iranians committed to wresting control of their homeland from the Islamic clerics who have ruled since 1979.

The fighters are equipped with tanks and heavy artillery. At least a third are women. They accuse Iran's "mullahs' regime" of denying democracy, repressing women and carrying out a savage campaign against all political opposition.

"For our people, I joined the National Liberation Army to help overthrow the regime," said Batul Ibrahim, an 18-year-old woman who crossed from Iran on foot last year. "We are willing to die for our freedom."

Such words are echoed throughout the ranks at Camp Ashraf, a heavily guarded compound about 110 kilometers northeast of Baghdad and just 90 kilometers from the Iranian border.

The National Liberation Army was formed in Iraq a decade ago by Massoud and Maryam Rajavi, long-time leaders of the Mujahideen Khalq, or People's Warriors.

The group first opposed the shah's rule in Iran, then that of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini after the Islamic revolution.

In a 1994 report, the US State Department characterized the

Mujahideen as a cult of the Rajavis that employs terrorism not unlike the mullahs and has little real support within Iran. The US-based group Human Rights Watch has accused the Mujahideen of torturing members who tried to quit.

Labib Kamhawi, a professor of political science at Jordan University who has studied regional opposition movements, predicts the regime in Teheran will be changed from inside Iran, not outside. He calls the exile army "insignificant" compared with Iran's 500,000-man military.

And, he adds: "Once the Mujahideen took refuge in Iraq, they lost their credibility inside Iran."

The Rajavis and their followers dismiss this criticism as "Iranian propaganda."

The liberation army, they argue, gets its legitimacy from being the military wing of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, a Paris-based government-in-exile which meets twice a year, in Paris and Baghdad.

Its council's "charter of fundamental freedoms" calls for free and fair elections, religious and ethnic tolerance and women's rights, once Iran's government is ousted.

Iran's government paints the exile army as a tool of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. But the Iranian opposition leaders say their financial support comes from the four million Iranians in exile and donations sneaked out of Iran.

Rajavi, 49, is commander of the exile army. His wife, Maryam, 43, resigned as deputy commander in 1993 when she was elected by the council to be "transitional presi-

dent" of Iran once the mullahs are overthrown.

Soft-spoken and dressed in an elegant pink wool suit with a gray headscarf, she spoke passionately about the Teheran regime, blaming it for the deaths of 100,000 Iranians in its quest to put down dissent. The victims include one of her sisters, Maasoomeh; one of her husband's brothers, Kazem; and her husband's first wife, Ashraf, after whom the training camp here is named.

At Camp Ashraf, the Rajavis' photographs hang prominently in mess halls, parade grounds and barracks, and soldiers in interviews rarely missed a chance to invoke their names in almost worshipful terms. Women commandos wound up a training exercise with Kalashnikovs and fake grenades by breaking into chants of "Iran! Rajavi! Iran! Rajavi!" Soldiers practicing rope jumps from a high platform began with the cry: "Maryam, our shining star, we will take you to Teheran."

Women soldiers on duty dress according to conservative Iranian tradition, but off duty, many shed their head cover. They train with the men, but live in segregated barracks.

Mahbubeh Jamshidi, an officer in the exile army, says women were given important roles in the Mujahideen to contrast pointedly with the increasing strictures on women under the Teheran regime. "I want the women and the men to be free," she said. "And I believe the key to the liberation of our country is held in the hands of this organization under the leadership of Massoud and Maryam Rajavi."

Jamshidi serves on a 25-woman council that advises Rajavi.

"We have never lost for one day



Women make up a third of the Iranian fighting forces training to topple the mullahs' regime at camps in Iraq. (AP)

the burning hope that we will return to our country," Rajavi said. "This is the fire inside each of us that keeps us going."

The exile army has won two

large-scale battles with Iranian troops.

In 1988, it stormed an Iranian army camp in the border town of Mehran, coming back to Iraq with

hundreds of tanks, armored vehicles, howitzers and anti-aircraft guns.

It used that armor in 1991 to fight off an attack inside Iraq by

the Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Some Iranian soldiers taken prisoner in those battles refused repatriation and instead joined the exile army. (AP)

EARTHLY CONCERNS

Hidden death traps

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL

According to estimates by the International Red Cross, there are about 100 million land mines planted across the globe, many of them buried decades after the hostilities in those areas have ceased. In the past 20 years, about one million people have been maimed or killed by mines left over from previous wars.

According to the IRC, it would take 30 years to detect and destroy all the left-over land mines strewn throughout the Afghanistan countryside by the Soviet Union and the opposing rebel forces. Dozens of people are killed or lose limbs every year from these mines. In addition, livestock grazing in these areas are also victims.

In Korea, more than 40 years after the war, mines still kill or maim more than 1,000 people a year. In Cambodia it is estimated that there are 10 million mines left over from the conflicts.

In recent years, the United States has sent teams of demolition experts to Cambodia to train local sappers in the detection and removal of land mines. Neither the instructors or the students who risk their lives in this task were even born when the mines were planted. Nor were most of the potential victims of this grim and deadly legacy.

Millions of mines still lie hidden in Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Somalia, Sudan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Egypt as well as dozens

of other places including many spots in Europe where mines left over from World War II still take their deadly toll.

But even as efforts are being made to locate and dismantle these hidden death traps in many places, new mine fields are being laid down today in other spots. Tens of thousands are being laid every week in former Yugoslavia, in areas of the breakaway republics of the former Soviet Union, in Rwanda, along the borders of Tanzania and again in the jungles of South America and some other places in Africa.

Because of the long active life of these booby traps, the difficulty and danger of locating and dismantling them once conflict has ended and the frightful toll these mines take, the IRC has repeatedly tried to get land mines declared illegal. But so far to no avail.

The land mine is cheap to produce, easy to deploy and highly effective, and it is doubtful that any nation with a standing army would opt out of the possibility of continuing to use this weapon. Even so, each time the subject is placed on the agenda, there are a few more votes in favor of outlawing land mines, which causes some activists to be optimistic in believing that eventually the land mine, like poison gas and bacterial warfare, will be rejected by the civilized nations of the world and, like these other outlawed methods of warfare, they will be used, if at all, only by outlaw nations.

Peacemakers or "agents of Satan"?

The Arab media have used both terms to describe the Egyptian and Jordanian intellectuals who took part in a conference last month aimed at creating an Arab-Israeli peace alliance. The Copenhagen conference brought together 70 prominent figures from Egypt, Jordan and Israel.

This act of dialogue should not have been earth-shattering for Arab intellectuals—whose governments have peace treaties with Israel. For Egyptian intellectuals, however, the event was viewed at home as traumatic.

In a departure from the often Arctic peace that has existed for almost two decades, the conference included dialogue between private citizens—something that could be regarded as normalization.

In contrast to Egypt, writers in the Jordanian press were largely complimentary about the dialogue.

In the Jordanian daily *Al-Rai*, Zeid Hanizah wrote that the Arab-Israel conflict has cost hundreds of billions of dollars in arms and therefore everything must be done to stop this waste so that people can benefit from economic development.

Expressing the opposing view was Saad Abu Meizar, who is the head of the Council of Professional Associations in Jordan. Writing in the *Al-Dustour* daily, Abu Meizar charged that Arabs who participated in the Copenhagen meeting should be condemned for giving their imprimatur in recognizing the status quo imposed by "Israel and the world Zionist organizations."

Nonetheless, the debate has been most vociferous in Egypt where intellectuals—due to either Nasserist, communist, or Islamic leanings—have largely been spearheading the anti-normalization effort.

Is it time to talk yet?

A meeting of leading Arab intellectuals and their Israeli counterparts has sparked a vociferous debate in Jordan and Egypt. David Makovsky reports

Some of those participating have been denounced in Egypt's pro-government and opposition press as "agents of Satan," despite the prominence of the Egyptian participants who included leading writer Lutfi el-Kholi, director of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies Abdel-Munim Said and leading philosopher Murad Wahba.

Some of those participating in the dialogue with Israel have been denounced as 'agents of Satan' in the Egyptian press.

In the last few weeks the conference was denounced by the Egyptian Writers Union, the Egyptian Intellectuals Association, the Egyptian Committee for Resisting Normalization, the Committee for the Defense of National Culture, and the Arab Artists Union.

While some Arabs went so far as to question the patriotism of those who participated, others opposed the meeting on tactical grounds, saying that the shift from opposition to cooperation is too abrupt.

Al-Ahram writer Mohammed Sid-Ahmed does not oppose the principle of holding a dialogue with peace-minded Israelis in order to help free Israel of the

trauma of the Holocaust and convince Israelis that Arabs care about their security.

He argues, however, that a prerequisite to this is an internal Arab dialogue that would minimize splits in the ranks. "We cannot shift from total boycott to total alliance," he argues.

However, Sid-Ahmed does not address

El-Kholi said, "we are creating a new political reality and not just sitting on the sidelines issuing reactionary statements of denial."

Abdel-Munim Said asked in *Al-Ahram* recently: "Is it sufficient to issue statements and pronounce slogans and then return to our homes content that we have fulfilled our duty and liberated Palestine over the microphone?"

"Should we pawn the future of our national development and of our children against idle statements, none of which have proven themselves true over five decades?"

Some critics in the Egyptian press have linked support for dialogue with Israel to a broader critique of Egyptian society, namely that it must dwell less upon the past and more upon the future. While derisively calling this idea "the end of history," these critics charge proponents with being overly pragmatic.

They say the genuine agenda of those favoring dialogue with Israel is "technocracy," namely recognizing how far the Arabs have fallen behind the West and narrowing this gap by absorbing Western technological assistance.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, the most hard line member of the Egyptian establishment, gave his blessing to the conference when contacted by Israeli delegate David Kimche, the former Director General of the Foreign Ministry.

Moussa attacked critics of the conference, saying they were not serious about peace.

Amid all the controversy, it seems to have escaped Egyptian notice that even Palestinian opponents of Oslo participated in Copenhagen, among them: Hamas's Sheikh Jamil Hamami, and Riyadh Malki, a key member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

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Mifal Hapayis

BUSINESS

in brief

GM awaits Chinese approval on \$1b. contract

General Motors and a Chinese corporation are expected to sign a \$1 billion contract setting up China's largest mid-sized automobile production venture, an official report in Beijing said yesterday.

The State Council, China's cabinet, approved the planned joint venture last month and the contract will be signed after the Foreign Trade Ministry endorses it too, the China Daily Business Weekly said. The venture between GM, the world's largest automaker, and Shanghai Automotive Industry Corp. will produce 100,000 vehicles a year in Shanghai and is expected to help reduce China's dependence on imports of mid-sized cars, the newspaper said.

Spanish firm to begin oil exploration in Egypt

Spain's Repsol oil company will begin oil and gas explorations in southern Egypt this month, Oil Minister Hamdy Banbi said over the weekend. The oil company will drill three wells near the southern city of Kom Ombo, 640 kilometers south of Cairo, the Middle East News Agency quoted Banbi as saying.

The project will cost Repsol at least \$13 million, the agency reported. Egypt produces 900,000 barrels of oil a day, about half of which is exported. Egypt has gas reserves of about 900 billion cubic meters.

Local companies may hire Egyptian engineers

Israeli and Egyptian high-tech executives have discussed an arrangement whereby Israeli computer companies would hire Egyptian subcontractors in order to compensate for Israel's shortage of engineers, said Hanan Ahsaf, president of both Motorola (Israel) and the Electronic Industries Association.

The idea was raised during Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Egypt last week. Ahsaf has suggested that Egyptian and Israeli executives meet for a four-day meeting — two days in Taba and two in Eilat — to discuss potential deals and joint ventures. Ahsaf has also suggested establishing a joint technology high school on the Israel, Egypt and Gaza Strip border.

Livnat visits UK Dept of Trade and Industry

Communications Minister Limor Livnat left yesterday for an official visit in London as a guest of the British Department of Trade and Industry. She was accompanied by her director-general, Daniel Rosenne, and a delegation of 15 managing directors of major Israeli companies. Livnat will meet with the British science and technology minister, Ian Taylor, who is also responsible for telecommunications, and will visit British Telecom, Cable & Wireless, Sky TV and cable TV companies. The visit will stress the British experience in privatization.

Acting director for Bezeq Kol 2000

Danny Rai, managing director of Bezeq Bit, resigned last week as a result of the merger of the company with Bezeq Kol, to form Bezeq Kol 2000. Rai had hoped to manage the joint company, but was offered a lesser job as director of the peripheral equipment division.

Bezeq Bit markets peripheral telephone equipment, while Bezeq Kol services private phone exchanges. Izzie Granot, who was marketing director of Bezeq Bit, was yesterday named deputy director-general of the unified company in charge of peripheral equipment, while Yosef Jungman, Bezeq Kol's managing director, has been named acting director of the unified company.

Private investment soars in Petra

Jordanian private investments in the city of Petra have reached \$70.4 million, mostly in the hotel construction sector. A Ministry of Tourism annual report said 414,448 tourists visited Petra last year, a 10 percent increase over the 1995 figures. Tourists paid \$9.2m. in entrance fees to the city.

Kamel Mahadin, head of Petra's district council, said the World Bank will contribute loans totaling \$23m. to finance 10 projects in the ancient city. Tourism revenues in the kingdom amounted to \$700m. in 1996.

Row heats up over Ramat Aviv Mall

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Africa Israel does not intend to compensate Israel Theaters for its \$1 million investment in the Ramat Aviv Mall despite the company's decision not to operate the shopping and entertainment complex on Shabbat, a company spokesperson said yesterday.

Management of the real estate, tourism and industrial holdings company officially dismissed two of its senior deputy managers yesterday in connection with the Shabbat episode and change in ownership. The two managers, Danny Chesnik and Shuka Keslev, were responsible for the opening of the mall on Saturdays during negotiations with franchisers.

Following Orthodox diamond merchant Lev Leviev's purchase of a controlling share in Africa Israel last November, the company has experienced many changes, including a greater emphasis on religious considerations in making management decisions and major changes in senior management.

Last week the company's board of directors decided that the new mall in Ramat Aviv that is scheduled to open in about six months will be closed on Saturdays.

The board said its decision is in line with original articles of the mall, defined years ago when construction began. The board said it will honor all the agreements it has signed with other companies.

According to Israel Theaters and McDonald's, which have already invested in the complex, their contracts stipulate that they can operate on the Sabbath. Israel Theaters claims it has an unsigned memorandum of understanding with Africa Israel former general manager

Shlomo Grofman. The company says the agreement was never signed because of the good working relationship it had with Grofman. McDonald's claims it has a similar agreement.

"Africa Israel does not have a contract which obliges it to remain open on Shabbat," said a company spokesperson.

The spokesperson denied rumors that other franchise firms have canceled contracts to purchase commercial property in reaction to the board's decision.

The Am Hofshi group filed a complaint with the Securities Authority at the end of last week, in an attempt to force Africa Israel to change its decision.

In its complaint, the group said only one outside director has served on the Africa Israel Hotels board in the January-February period and that

the same two outside directors sit on the boards of Africa Israel Financing and Africa Israel Investments.

According to Securities Law, two outside directors have to serve on the board of directors of a public company and the same people cannot serve on more than one board of affiliated companies.

The secular rights group was established eight months ago to fight against religious coercion. The group recently purchased a minimal sum of NIS 1,000 worth of Africa Israel shares, so as to become a shareholder in the company.

"We are not interested in getting money out of Leviev. We are merely interested in the public's interest," said attorney Yosef Pritzker, who is representing the group.

Africa Israel said the complaint involves technical issues which have already been resolved.

New list of top priority areas includes 6 settlements

By DAVID HARRIS

Six settlements have been included in the new government list of top priority zones published yesterday by Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky.

The six — Kiryat Arba, Betar Illit, Emanuel, Ma'aleh Ephraim, Neveh Dekalim, and Katzarin — will receive a share of an initial NIS 100 million. The funding became available after the government decided in December to reduce the size of grants for companies investing in Israel.

The other locations to be placed on the list are Ofakim, Beit She'an, Dimona, Yeroham, Ma'alot, Mitzpeh Ramon, Netivot, Kiryat Shmona, Sderot, Shlomi, Hazor Haglilit, Tuba Zangria, Safed, Tel Sheva, and Yirka.

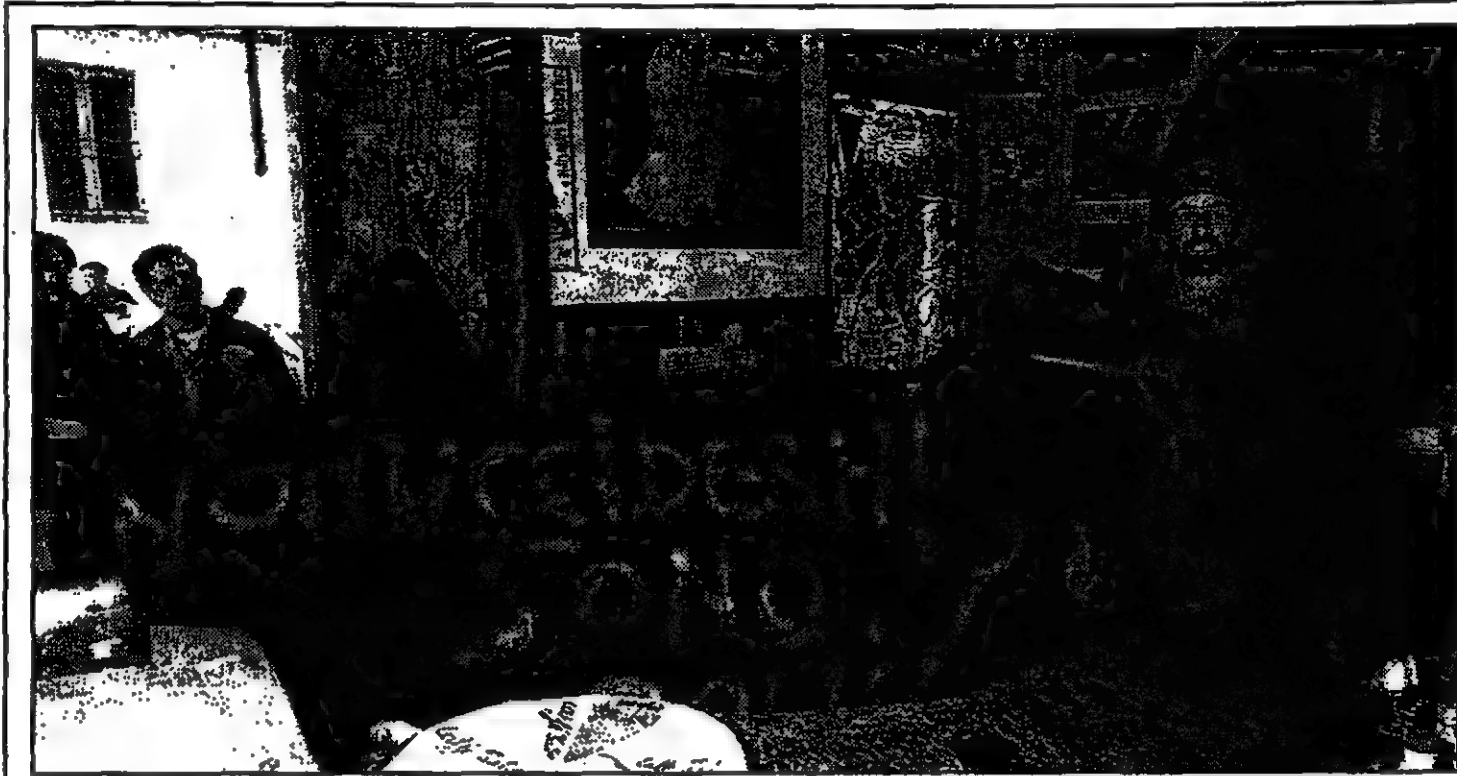
The aid will be offered on an individual basis.

The funds will go, among other uses, toward infrastructure improvements in industrial zones, aid to small businesses, and professional training courses.

The decision follows the 1996 publication of the findings of the Gabbai Committee, which was set up to consider what to do with the money saved, thought to be as much as an annual NIS 500m.

Despite opposition from a variety of quarters, the government decided there was little to be gained from such high grants, and thus reduced capital-investment aid in Zone A from 34 percent to 20% and in Zone B from 20% to 10%.

Four main areas will benefit from the changes: approved companies will receive two years' tax exemptions, NIS 100m. will be spent on developing workforce skills, individual problems in specific geographical areas will also receive NIS 100m., and extra funds will be allocated to the marketing abroad of Israel's development areas.



Farmers protest EU fines for exceeding milk production quotas

A dairy farmer and his cow enter a bar in Pavia, near Milan, over the weekend. The action was part of a protest against EU fines for exceeding milk production quotas. The writing on the cow reads: "Do not kill me, I'm pregnant." Many Italian farmers will be forced to slaughter their animals if they are not allowed to maintain their present milk production.

Government to sell Yozma for NIS 50m.

By DAVID HARRIS

The Prime Minister's Office announced last night the intended sale of Yozma Venture Capital Ltd. to Ofer Brothers Investments Ltd. for NIS 50 million.

This is the first sale of an entire public company since the government came to power last year.

Ofer, which has a major share in Bank Mizrahi, won the private tender by offering the highest amount for 100% of the company.

The government decided to sell Yozma, because several private-sector venture capital funds have recently been set up, and therefore the public sector is no

longer needed in this business.

The state-owned firm, established in 1992, has set up nine venture capital funds with local and foreign partners over the past four years, as well as investing directly in some 11 start-up companies.

The firm currently has some NIS 157m. invested in its funds, and NIS 20m. invested directly in companies.

It earned a profit of NIS 124,000 in 1995, compared to a loss of NIS 3.5m. the previous year.

The company's rights in its venture capital funds will be transferred to the government, rather than being included in the sale.

The Treasury said this was necessary, because Yozma's partners in the funds have the right to buy out its shares at a fixed price. This makes Yozma's share of the funds unattractive to potential buyers, the Treasury said.

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

The managements of the country's largest banks yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice against the Restraint of Trade Tribunal's decision not to allow the banks to close on Fridays.

More than a month ago, Judge Yonatan Adiel, Prof. Amir Barnea, and David Tadmor, head of the Antitrust Authority, decided unanimously that there is no justification for allowing all the banks to close on the same day. They agreed that the bank employees' demand to go over to a five-day work week is legitimate, but claimed that allowing all the banks to close on the same day would cause great harm to competition and bring little benefit, if any, to customers.

In the petition, the Association of Banks said the judges ignored the fact that coordination among banks is a necessary criterion to moving to a shorter work week.

Banks petition High Court over Friday closure ban

The banks said their computer, capital market, and foreign currency market networks work together, in line with Bank of Israel regulations.

According to the banks, the judges ignored the fact that the banks, even when they are closed, provide 85% of all bank services.

In the meantime, Bank

Hapoalim workers and management have reached an agreement to keep 10 percent of branches open on Fridays and provide partial service.

The bank has asked the supervisor of banks to approve the agreement.

The other bank unions are still negotiating over the transition to a shorter week.

THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

Correction and addition to Tender 1/97 on the preconditions of clause 7 published on February 24, 1997.

Tender 1/97 - Office Equipment and Requisites, and Computer Peripherals

Tender Participation Pre-conditions:

7. A bidder must attach to his bid confirmation from the Israel Standards Institution, or from a body authorized by the institution that the bidder has instituted the procedures for obtaining approval, in accordance with Israel Standard 2002 (ISO 9002). The bidder must undertake to conclude the procedure for obtaining approval and report on progress every three months. The ministry will verify with the Standards Institution the bidder's report on progress towards receipt of approval. The Ministry reserves the right to cancel the successful applicant's bid, if it is found that he has discontinued the procedure for obtaining approval in accordance with Israel Standard 2002 (ISO 9002).

Bids are invited for the supply of the following goods, required by various government agencies and all related units throughout Israel:

Tender 3/97 - Paper in Small Packages and Large Rolls.

The tender application forms are divided into two types of items as follows:

Type 1 - Paper in small packages

Type 2 - Paper in large rolls

Tender Participation Pre-conditions:

Minimum tender participation conditions are given below. Offers which do not comply with these conditions will not be considered.

1. Bidders should have at least 3 years' experience in supplying office equipment.

2. Bidders should have experience in supplying office requisites to large organizations and/or government ministries.

3. Bidders must be capable of supplying all the office equipment items in the tender specification and its appendices, in whatever quantity is ordered, with delivery to any location.

4. Bidders should supply a color catalog of appropriate quality, with an indication of the catalog numbers of the items offered, and a description of the items; this applies for all the office requisites detailed in the tender.

5. The catalog must be provided within 60 days of receipt of notification of success in the tender. The successful bidder must undertake to supply such a catalog to all branch offices of the government ministries.

6. A bidder must attach to his bid confirmation from the Israel Standards Institution, or from a body authorized by the institution that the bidder has instituted the procedures for obtaining approval, in accordance with Israel Standard 2002 (ISO 9002).

The bidder must undertake to conclude the procedure for obtaining approval and report on progress every three months. The ministry will verify with the Standards Institution the bidder's report on progress towards receipt of approval.

The Ministry reserves the right to cancel the successful applicant's bid, if it is found that he has discontinued the procedure for obtaining approval for Israel Standard 2002 (ISO 9002).

7. The Ministry will take all steps to protect and give preference to Israeli products and those of regions of national priority as established by the law, regulations and guidelines in force.

Last date for submitting bids: Wednesday, April 16, 1997, at 12 noon.

Applications for the tender documents should be made by fax only, to 02-5317776, giving the following information:

Tender no. _____ Subject of Tender _____

Name of company bidding _____ Authorized Trader's no. _____

Company's address, with postal code no. _____

Fax no. _____ Tel. no. _____

Company's bank _____ Bank branch no. (if which company has its account) _____

The tender documents and technical specifications will be sent, after receipt of a fax, as aforesaid.

Our address: Tenders and Buying Dept., The Accountant General, Finance Ministry, 1 Kaplan, 7th Floor, Room 714 or 715, or P.O.B. 13195, Jerusalem 9131.

Additional details from Tel. 02-5317426, 02-5317418.

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Redemption Price: 161.27

למחירי המס' 1000

PRIME PRIME Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date: 6.3.97

Purchase Price: 114.96

Redemption Price: 113.47

למחירי המס' 1000

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ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.95)			
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.75%	5.00%	5.37%
German mark (DM 200,000)	3.87%	4.00%	4.25%
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	1.82%	1.82%	2.12%
Yen (10 million yen)	0.82%	0.75%	1.00%

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (7.3.97)

CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep.
Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Prices**
Currency basket	3.8069	3.8051	—	3.8475
U.S. dollar	3.3311	3.3849	3.27	3.3990
German mark	1.9444	1.9758	1.91	1.9644
French franc	5.3558	5.4422	5.26	5.3148
Japanese yen (100)	0.5785	0.5858	0.58	0.5828
Dutch florin	2.7481	2.7925	2.70	2.7761
Swiss franc	1.7283	1.7642	1.69	1.7448
Swedish krona	2.2543	2.2907	2.22	2.2771
Norwegian krone	0.4357	0.4426	0.42	0.4405
Canadian dollar	0.4819	0.4897	0.47	0.4888
Australian dollar	0.5089	0.5182	0.50	0.5154
Israeli shekel	0.6518	0.6622	0.64	0.6594
Belgian franc (10)	2.4417	2.4811	2.39	2.4588
Austrian schilling (10)	2.6231	2.6855	2.57	2.6539
Italian lire (1000)	0.7467	0.7598	0.72	0.7551
Spanish peseta (100)	0.9425	0.9576	0.92	0.9522
Portuguese escudo (200)	2.7825	2.8071	2.71	2.7811
Japanese yen (100)	1.9599	1.9918	1.92	1.9821
Jordanian dinar	4.8400	4.9500	4.84	4.7758
Egyptian pound	0.9500	1.0300	0.95	1.0301
ECU	3.7845	3.8456	3.68	3.8220
Irish punt	5.1789	5.2695	5.08	5.2081
Spanish peseta (100)	2.2669	2.3337	2.25	2.3219

*These rates vary according to bank. **Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

Oil and Energy Industries Ltd. Tender No. 97107035 Tav Refurbishing of Marine Pipeline in Mooring Basin 5, Haifa Bay (Replacing Approx. 1,000 m. Section of 32" Pipe on Sea Bed)

Addition to Tender

Further to our press announcement on Thursday February 27, in addition to the various categories of contractor mentioned in that announcement, overseas contractors, found by the Company to be capable of carrying out the work called for by this tender, may submit bids.

دكان من الأكل

US drawing up aid plan to offer Russia at summit

WASHINGTON - US President Bill Clinton's aides are drawing up an aid package for him to offer Russian President Boris Yeltsin at their Helsinki summit later this month, according to administration officials familiar with the plan.

Clinton's package also could include US advice on developing systems to make investments in Russia's capital markets safer, the officials said.

Clinton spoke about the importance of speeding the development of Russia's free market system. If the Russians "can make certain changes to their economy, they have the capacity to enjoy a phenomenal amount of economic growth in a relatively short time," Clinton told reporters at a White House press conference. "And I think we should help." The dollar amount of the aid has yet to be set, said the officials.

One of the US's aims is to help the Yeltsin government fight Russia's rampant organized crime, the officials said.

The Clinton administration's assistance package for Russia and the other former Soviet republics totaled \$1.2 billion for fiscal 1996 and 1997. For 1998, the administration is asking Congress to approve \$900 million, including \$528 million for crime-fighting, and trade and investment programs.

The administration aid package for Eastern European countries totaled \$985 million in 1996 and 1997. Clinton has proposed \$492 million for those countries in fiscal year 1998.

Foreign aid is an unpopular issue on Capitol Hill, even more so now as the Republican-led Congress seeks spending cuts to balance the budget. But Clinton wouldn't need

congressional approval for his Helsinki aid package for Russia, the officials said, since the funds would come from money already approved by lawmakers. The officials gave no further details.

The administration has already drawn up a plan for how it wants to help Yeltsin reform Russia's economy.

Deputy Treasury Secretary Larry Summers in January outlined an agenda for making the Russian capital market more attractive to investors. Those steps included a creation of "mechanisms that confirm, facilitate and legitimize securities ownership and transition." Helping Russia develop its capital markets is a "top priority of the Treasury Department," Summers said in January.

He or Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin are expected to attend the

March 19-20 Clinton-Yeltsin summit in Finland, officials said.

Administration officials said they are looking at ways to increase supervision of dealers and brokers, install a system that makes securities issuers provide more information to investors and improve the licensing process for brokers.

Rubin and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt have already agreed to co-chair a US-Russian Capital Markets Forum to marshal the expertise of the US private sector in developing Russian markets.

Clinton has been pushing an international anti-crime agenda for two years. Leaders of the seven richest industrialized nations, the Group of Seven, in June called for 40 ways to fight terrorism and crime, including prosecuting financial markets from high-tech fraud.

TASE ROUNDPUP

Both indexes rise

Mishtanim 259.57 ▲ 0.73% Maof 266.39 ▲ 0.37%

By FELICE MARANZ

Indexes rose yesterday as investors felt Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government would overcome problems of international condemnation of the Har Homa project and the Bar-On Affair.

Gains were led by Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd., which rose 2.25%. The company is preparing to launch Copaxone, a multiple sclerosis treatment. Teva's American depository receipts rose to 63 7/8 on Friday from 62 5/8 on Wednesday, the last day of trading on Wall Street to affect trading in Tel Aviv.

Other gaining shares included Israel Chemicals Ltd., which rose 1%. The chemical manufacturer

gained after a subsidiary reported better-than-expected earnings on Thursday.

The Maof Index of 25 issues rose 0.37% to 266.39, and the Mishtanim Index of 100 issues rose 0.73% to 259.57.

The general bond index rose 0.11%.

Of 964 shares trading across the exchange, more than three times as many shares rose as fell. Some NIS 91.5 million worth of shares changed hands, NIS 1.9m below Thursday's level.

"There's a lot of optimism that Netanyahu won't fall, not over the attorney-general investigation, and not over Har Homa," said Gidi Halpern, a portfolio manager at Tel Aviv investment firm Meitav Ltd. (Bloomberg)

COMMODITIES ROUNDPUP

Gold market lower

By MICHAEL ZWERNER

Swiss gold sales continued to dog the precious metals market on Friday, resulting in sharply lower closing prices.

Switzerland said early last week that it intended to sell 40 tons of gold over 10 years to raise cash for victims of the Holocaust.

June gold closed down 70 cents at \$355.60 per troy ounce. May silver ended 1.50 lower at \$22.70 cents per troy ounce. May high grade copper closed up 1.80 at \$1.220 cents per pound.

Oil prices rose on Friday, despite a report by the West's energy watchdog which showed that rich consumer nations emerged from the peak demand season with well-stocked oil inventories.

Futures traders said that although long-term fundamentals were bearish, an unexpected drop in temperatures in the US Northeast, the world's biggest heating oil market, was supportive short term.

The Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA) said in its monthly oil report for the end of February that rising crude oil supplies had allowed the oil industry to replenish lean stocks.

These were higher than the previous year for the first time in 18 months.

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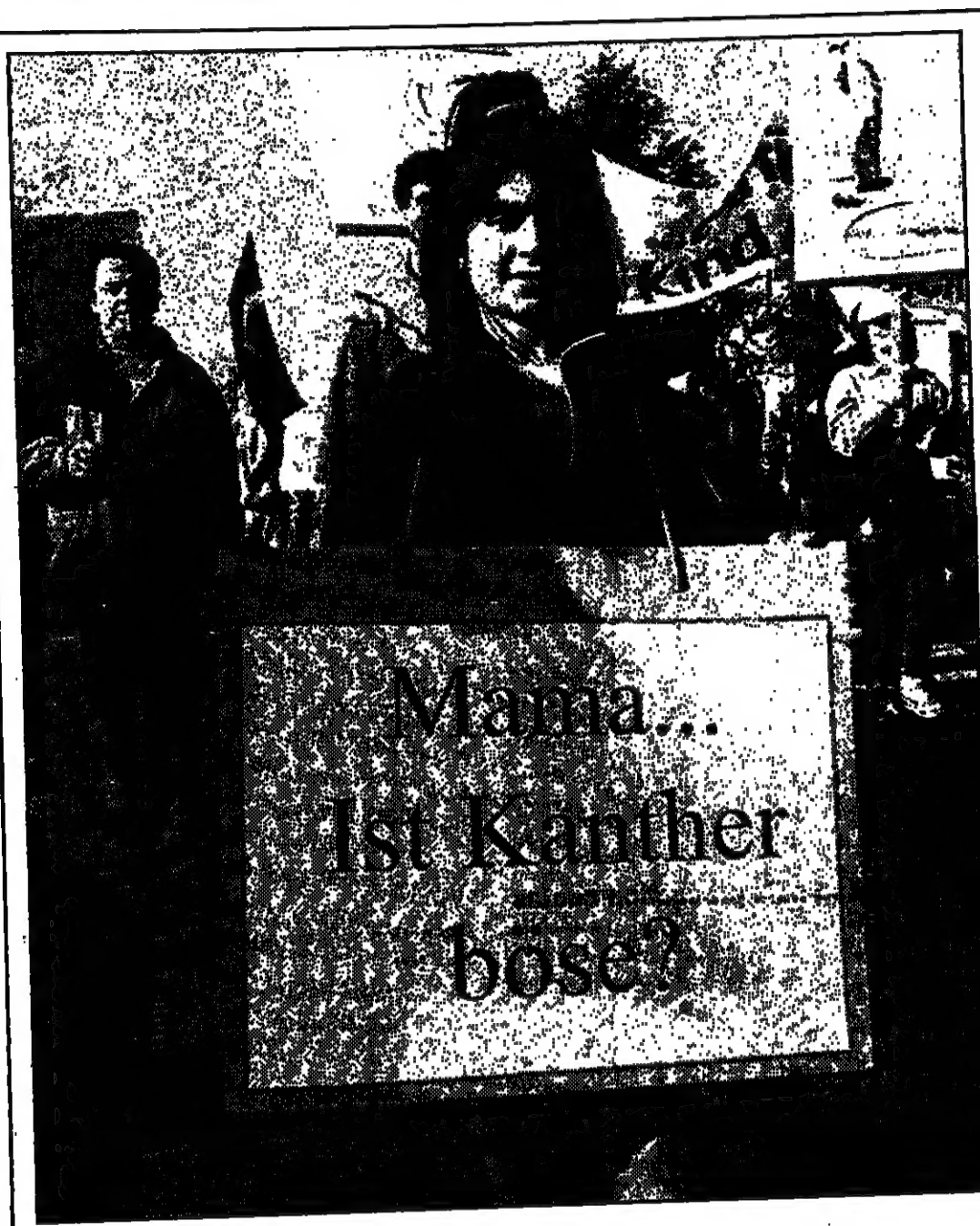
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PAC MED INVESTMENTS



Foreigners protest in Germany

A girl holds a poster which asks 'Mother... is Kanther bad' during a demonstration in Bonn over the weekend. About 1,000 protesters demanded that German Interior Minister Manfred Kanther revoke the obligation to hold a visa for children of foreign workers from countries which are not members of the European Union.

German miners protest at planned government cuts

SAARBRUECKEN, Germany (Reuters) - In a weekend of protests sweeping Germany's mining regions, 5,000 miners demonstrated yesterday against Bonn's plans to cut coal subsidies at Goetelborn pit in the west while about 100 others blocked major highways.

One of the blockades in Saarland, Germany's second most important coal-mining region after the western Ruhr industrial heartland, left Germany's main route to Luxembourg, the A620, completely impassable.

Temper ran high as miners took to the streets, enraged at government plans to reduce coal subsidies to 3.8 billion marks (\$2.2 billion) from 9b. marks by

the year 2005 - plans they say will lead to 10 pit closures and 50,000 job losses.

Economics Minister Guenter Rexrodt defended the cuts, saying it was financially unsustainable to pay 135,000 marks a year in public subsidies to keep just one job afloat.

On Saturday, miners' union leader Hans Berger attacked Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition partners, the pro-business Free Democrats (FDP), and blamed them for Kohl's tough stance during a rally of 5,000 miners in Dusseldorf.

"I can't imagine the party of the people (Kohl's Christian Democrats) will continue to buckle to the FDP," Berger told Reuters Television.

"They'll have to change or expect to lose lots of votes...then there'll be no coalition government anymore." Miners vowed to keep up the road blockade until tomorrow when Berger meets Kohl for talks to break the deadlock.

Berger could hardly contain miners' anger at the rally and some even accused him of betraying them by agreeing to meet Kohl - shouting "Judas" at him as he addressed the crowd.

"String them up and vote them out" was one of their battle-cries, referring to Kohl's coalition government.

Berger warned the government that if it failed to come up with "a reasonable offer" the mood in the pits could go beyond his control.

Outlawed South Korean union slams draft labor bill

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korea's outlawed union organizations yesterday denounced a new version of a controversial labor law, slated to be submitted to parliament today, and vowed further industrial action if it was passed.

The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions said it would fight the law's passage, even though the revised bill will delay for two years a controversial clause which allows companies to lay off workers, a provision which sparked worker fury.

"There's not much difference between the original bill and the new one," senior confederation official Chung Sung-hee said in an interview.

"We will launch campaigns to disrobe clauses that we think are inappropriate. And we will continue labor action until parliament comes

up with a more acceptable bill," Chung said.

Protests would include nationwide rallies, the group said.

Unions would also link opposition to the new legislation to negotiations over annual pay increases that usually begin in April.

President Kim Young-sam was forced to return the original bill to parliament after its forced passage with no debate last December sparked almost four weeks of labor strikes that cost the nation \$3.28 billion in lost production and \$509 million in lost exports.

An all-party parliamentary committee cobbled together a compromise on most points on Saturday after missing a deadline a week earlier. A parliamentary spokesman said the draft would be submitted to the National Assembly for a vote today.

The new bill puts back by two years a key concession to employers making it easier for them to shed staff.

Layoffs are all but impossible in South Korea, where redundancies must be approved by a court.

The new draft would also legalize multiple union organizations at a national level, but workers would have to choose a single union to represent them at a company level for another five years.

This would break the monopoly of the Korean Federation of Trade Unions.

International labor organizations, and South Korea's fellow members of the Organization for Economic Planning and Development, condemned the old law for maintaining a ban on free trade union association until 2000.

Iran plans to privatize domestic air services

TEHERAN (Reuters) - Iran is planning to privatize domestic air services to enable the flag carrier Iran Air to expand its international flights. Roads and Transport Minister Akbar Torkan was quoted as saying yesterday.

The official news agency IRNA quoted him as saying the government "wants to turn its responsibility of the internal flights to the private companies so that the Islamic republic's

airline would put its full concentration on overseas flights."

IRNA said Torkan did not say when the privatization plan would go ahead.

Iran in October stopped subsidizing domestic flights, eliminating the last low-budget fares on Iran Air, which had in the past few years limited the low fares to a few of its flights.

Airline officials have repeatedly said the low fares made it impossible for Iran Air to cover costs and gather the capital needed to renew its aging fleet.

Torkan said last month that Iran, Russia and Ukraine were working together to manufacture 60-seat "simorgh" transport aircraft. He said his country was also considering another project to build 120-seat jets.

The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange data were unavailable due to technical difficulties.

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UNSTOPPABLE - Wilson Kipketer powers to victory in a new world record time in the 800 meters in Paris yesterday. (Reuters)

Kipketer slashes 800m mark again

PARIS (Reuters) - Wilson Kipketer slashed the world indoor 800 meters record for the second time in three days on the final day of the world indoor championships yesterday.

Running from the front to start to finish, the Kenyan-born Dane took more than a second off the mark he set here on Friday, clocking one minute 42.67 seconds.

Kipketer, the world outdoor champion, scorched through the first lap in 24.22 seconds and the 400 in 50.22.

He earned \$100,000 for his day's work, getting \$50,000 for the victory and a further \$50,000 as a world record bonus.

Asked later if he could go even faster, Kipketer smiled and said: "You saw what I did today." He would also not comment about a possible attempt on Sebastian Coe's 16-year-old world outdoor record.

"I can't think about that now," he said.

Kenyan-born Kipketer, who has lived in Denmark since 1990, was not allowed to compete for his adopted country at last year's Atlanta Olympics. He has been ranked No. 1 in the world for the past three years.

Forty-four-year-old Russian Yekaterina Podkopayeva snatched victory from American Mary Slaney, 38, at the line in the women's 1,500 metres final.

Ethiopian Haile Gebrselassie made no contest of the men's 3,000 metres final, leaving the likes of world steeplechase champion Moses Kiptanui struggling in his wake.

Gebrselassie clocked 7:34.71, almost four seconds outside his own world record.

Commonwealth high hurdles champion Michelle Freeman of Jamaica won the women's 60 metres hurdles and Cuban Anier Garcia outlasted world 110 metres record holder Colin Jackson in the men's final.

Nigerian Sunday Bada broke his own African record in the men's 400 final, overhauling Briton Jamie Baskich over the final 100 meters to win in 45.51.

The women's race went to the 1993 outdoor world champion Jearl Miles-Clark of the US in 50.96 seconds, fastest in the world this year.

Mozambique's Maria Mutola, the 1993 and 1995 champion, won the women's 800 meters, proving too powerful over the final lap for her rivals.

Mutola, wearing a black ribbon in memory of her father who died in a car crash last month, clocked 1:58.96.

Chelsea, Chesterfield, Wimbledon in FA Cup semis

LONDON (Reuters) - F.A. Cup favorites Chelsea marched confidently into the semifinals with a controlled and comfortable 4-1 win over First Division Portsmouth at Fratton Park yesterday.

Welsh international Mark Hughes put Ruud Gullit's premier league side on the right path when he put them ahead with a superb strike from the edge of the area after 25 minutes.

Two minutes before halftime, Steve Clarke's close range shot was parried by Portsmouth goalkeeper Alan Knight but Dennis Wise was on hand to tap it over the line.

After the break, Roberto Di Matteo went close before combining with Hughes in the 53rd minute to give Italian striker Gianfranco Zola the chance to put the result beyond doubt.

Portsmouth kept battling throughout and were rewarded for their efforts with an 82nd minute consolation goal through a fierce shot from Dean Burton.

But Wise emphasised Chelsea's label as the bookmakers' favourite four minutes later with his

second goal after a good one-two with Hughes.

Earlier, Chesterfield also reached the semifinals for the first time in their largely uneventful 131-year history when they beat Wrexham 1-0.

The only goal of a tense, exciting quarter-final against their fellow second division rivals came after 58 minutes and was scored by 31-year-old journeyman striker Chris Beaumont who signed for Chesterfield for a bargain price of £22,500 from Stockport County last summer.

Late goals from Robbie Earle and Dean Holdsworth gave Wimbledon a 2-0 quarter-final victory at Sheffield Wednesday to put the London club into the semifinals for only the second time.

On Saturday, Middlesbrough reached the semis for the first time in their history with a 2-0 win at Derby. In the semifinal draw made yesterday, Chesterfield will take on Middlesbrough while Chelsea will play Wimbledon. Ties are due to be played on April 13 at neutral venues.

Glam, Holtzman called up to take on Sweden

By DEREK FATTAL

National soccer coach Shlomo Scharf yesterday announced three new additions to his squad which assemble for training today in preparation for Wednesday evening's friendly international against Sweden at Ramat Gan.

Scharf has recalled Moshe Glam in recognition of his recent form for Maccabi Haifa. Hapoel Beersheba's Shai Holtzman is also drafted, together with Guy Yitzhak of Hapoel Petah Tikva who earns his first-ever call up to the "blue-and-white."

While this trio will welcome the opportunity to press their cause, Scharf will have to make do without the services of Betar Jerusalem's Itzik Zohar and his teammate David Amsalem. Zohar is still nursing a

knock which prevented him playing in the league last weekend, and Amsalem is ill. A further blow came last night with the withdrawal of key midfielder Avi Nimni due to injury.

Once again first-choice captain Tal Benin remains on the injury list, and club commitments prevent Eyal Berkovic and Haim Revivo from playing. In addition, Gadi Brumer has been released from international duty to pursue trials with Manchester United. On the plus side, Nir Klingner and Yossi Abuksis are cleared to rejoin the squad, as is Ronnie Rosenthal who was so impressive against Germany a fortnight ago.

The main core of the Swedish team arrived in Israel yesterday and will be joined shortly by additional members who were on club duty in Europe over the weekend.

Nahum finishes sixth in triple jump

Triple jumper Rogel Nahum proved he has regained his championship form by finishing sixth in the final of the world indoor championships in Paris yesterday.

Twenty-nine-year-old Nahum traveled a distance of 16.81 meters, three centimeters short of his indoor record which he set two weeks ago in Stuttgart.

In 1991 Nahum established his outdoor record of 17.20m. On Friday in the preliminary round, Nahum jumped 16.82m, placing seventh among the ten athletes who qualified for the final.

Nahum will receive NIS 3,500 for reaching the final while his coach Alex Mirman will bring home NIS 1,750. Heather Chait



WINNER AGAIN - David Coulthard, driving his McLaren, speeds towards the checkered flag in Melbourne yesterday for only his second career Formula 1 victory. (Reuters)

Coulthard wins Australian GP

MELBOURNE (Reuters) - Briton David Coulthard turned the form book on its head and completed a remarkable McLaren comeback yesterday when he drove to victory in the season-opening Australian Grand Prix at Albert Park.

The 25-year-old Scot, who was expected to be among the also-rans in an event dominated by the Williams team, ended up grabbing the second win of his career - after both Williams drivers crashed out of the race and defending world champion Damon Hill never made it to the start.

Championship favorite and pole-man Jacques Villeneuve of Canada was pushed off at the first corner after being involved in a collision with Briton Johnny Herbert's Sauber and the Ferrari of another Briton, Eddie Irvine.

And Heinz-Harald Frentzen of Germany, Hill's successor at Williams, also failed after leading for much of the 58-laps contest. He spun off two laps from the end when he was running second and chasing the leading Coulthard.

Frentzen's retirement meant that double world champion Michael Schumacher of Germany was able to overcome a tactical problem - he had to make a late "splash and dash" pit stop for fuel - and finish second in his Ferrari ahead of Finland's Mika Hakkinen in the second of the resurgent McLaren.

For the McLaren team, it was a remarkable result. Their last win came at the Australian Grand Prix in Adelaide in 1993 and if they had not won it would have been their 50th race without a victory. The winner of their last race was the late Ayrton Senna of Brazil, in his final race with the team.

For Hakkinen, it was also remarkable. He suffered terrible head injuries in Adelaide at the 1995 Australian Grand Prix and it was a stirring result for him as he finished just six-tenths of a second ahead of Austrian Gerhard Berger's Benetton.

Hill's luckless weekend ended on the pre-race parade lap when he retired with a throttle problem before the grid formed up.

Hapoel TA hoopsters win again

By Post Sports Staff

Hapoel Tel Aviv continued its revival in the National Basketball League last night with an exciting 76-75 road win over Bnei Herzliya.

Elsewhere, Hapoel Jerusalem broke away in Holon with six minutes of the game remaining to leave struggler Hapoel Holon stranded as it notched up an 81-74 victory before flying off to Greece today for the European Cup game against Iraklis Salonika tomorrow.

Hapoel Gail Elyon slumped to a 75-78 home defeat at the hands of Maccabi Rishon LeZion, that resulting putting the northerners in some trouble in the standings.

In the fourth game of last night's action, host Maccabi Ra'anana beat Hapoel Eilat 79-68.

SPORTS

in brief

9 more schools earn NCAA basketball berths

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Nine schools earned automatic berths into the 64-team NCAA college basketball tournament by winning conference titles on Saturday, bringing the field to 26.

The final field for the NCAA Tournament was to be set late yesterday, signalling the official start to "March Madness." Four schools clinched automatic bids to the "Big Dance" Saturday night as Utah, Boston College, Montana and Jackson State won their conference championship games.

St. Joseph's, Coppin State, Southwest Texas State, Miami of Ohio and Marquette won earlier Saturday to claim coveted slots in the popular, high-profile NCAA Tournament.

Four more conference championships yesterday will complete the automatic berths with an NCAA selection committee to fill out the final 30 slots.

Lemieux first to 100 points as Penguins win

PITTSBURGH (Reuters) - Superstar center Mario Lemieux, in the midst of what may be the final campaign of his brilliant NHL career, Saturday became the first player in the league to reach the 100-point mark this season.

Lemieux set up the tying goal to reach the century mark and Fredrik Olausson scored 19 seconds into overtime to lift the Pittsburgh Penguins to a 3-2 win over the Philadelphia Flyers.

With the Penguins on a powerplay trailing 2-1, Lemieux took a slap shot and Glen Murray tipped it into the Flyers net with 7:21 left in regulation.

The assist was Lemieux's 56th - to go along with 44 goals - marking the 10th season Super Mario has reached triple digits in scoring.

Saturday's Games: Pittsburgh 3, Philadelphia 2, OT; Boston 6, Tampa Bay 4, Bofale 3, Montreal 3, NY Islanders 5, New Jersey 1; Hartford 1, Toronto 1, Phoenix 2, Chicago 0, Detroit 5, Vancouver 3, Los Angeles 3, Ottawa 1.

Krajicek wins Rotterdam tournament

ROTTERDAM (Reuters) - Wimbledon champion Richard Krajicek achieved his first success of the year when he beat unseeded Czech Daniel Vacek 7-6, 7-6 in the \$750,000 Rotterdam World Indoor final yesterday.

The second-seeded Dutchman played a solid match against Vacek, semifinal victor over top seed Goran Ivanisevic, and repeated his 1995 victory in the tournament.

Krajicek, who had a knee operation at the end of last year, collected \$101,500 and enough ATP Tour points to improve one place to sixth in the world rankings.

Yorkshire members back move to leave Headingley

LONDON (Reuters) - Yorkshire County Cricket Club members on Saturday backed a move to end more than 100 years of tradition and leave their Headingley ground in Leeds for a new headquarters 16 kms away.

At the club's annual meeting in Leeds, 75 percent of the 14,000 members voted for the move to a £50 million ground in Wakefield. Yorkshire want Test cricket to switch to their new ground - should they move - but the new England and Wales Cricket Board would want assurances that pitches and facilities would be of Test standard.

The projected move has aroused strong passions in the county but it has been strongly

backed by several of Yorkshire's top former players. "Memories are wonderful but they don't pay the bills," ex-England opener Geoffrey Boycott said recently. "Yorkshire must have control of their own ground. More than 100 years of tradition and what is there to show for it? A new ground will be wonderful - get on with it." Former England fast bowler Fred Trueman said: "I fully support the initiative to move to Wakefield. With Yorkshire owning the ground, the finance generated by cricket will be ploughed back into the game."

Yorkshire first played at Headingley in 1891 but the club do not own the ground.

SCOREBOARD

NBA - Saturday's results: Milwaukee 96, Cleveland 82; San Antonio 102, Indiana 98; Detroit 91, L.A. Clippers 85.

CRICKET - West Indies were 73-1 at tea, on overall lead of 154, on the fourth day of the first Test against India on Sunday. Scores: West Indies 427 and 75-1; India 346.

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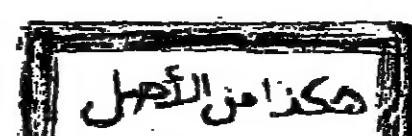
of March 31, & April 7 & 14

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NEWS

in brief

Prisons Service appointment stirs controversy

Yesterday's ceremony honoring the appointment of Yossi Pollack as deputy commissioner of prisons met with anger on the part of several senior Prisons Service officers present, who threatened to petition the High Court of Justice against it. Opponents note that Pollack, former commander of Ayalon Prison, retired from the service nearly three years ago due to chronic ill health, and received a hefty pension. They say they are amazed that he has returned to such good health to qualify for the post and accuse Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani of making a political appointment.



Yossi Pollack
(Isaac Harnet)
Itim

Rabbinate steps up kashrut enforcement

Some 1,800 violations of the Law Against Fraud in Kashrut have been recorded during a recent six-month campaign to enforce it, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau told a press conference yesterday.

Any establishment calling itself kosher that does not have a kashrut certificate is breaking the law, he said, adding that an establishment that violates Shabbat could not, by definition, be kosher.

Lau said that the police have been unwilling to investigate cases of kashrut fraud and the state attorney has been reluctant to press charges. However, rabbinate inspectors are authorized to levy fines, the proceeds of which, Lau hastened to add, do not go to the Chief Rabbinate.

Haim Shapiro

Psychologists protest ERAN budget cuts

Senior psychologists from around the country yesterday expressed their shock at the Health Ministry's decision to cut its budget for ERAN (Emotional First Aid). The ministry said it was obliged to cut funding due to budgetary problems. The psychologists, headed by Prof. Ya'acov Schul and Amia Lieblich of the Hebrew University, said the ministry had been an "active partner" in ERAN from the very beginning. The ministry also cut its allocation to AMCHA, the voluntary organization that provides emotional support to Holocaust victims.

Judy Siegel

Conservationists protest project off Bat Galim

Conservationists staged a protest in Haifa yesterday against a proposed multi-million dollar marina and hotels complex off the coast of the Bat Galim district.

The project is slated to involve reclaiming land from the sea to enable construction of the complex from up to 600 meters from the existing coastline.

The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel has petitioned against the project, claiming permission was granted without a comprehensive environmental impact survey.

David Rudge

Ministry halts misleading Cellcom ad

Following consumer complaints about misleading ads, the legal adviser of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Meron Cohen, has demanded that Cellcom stop advertising an Eriksson cellular phone for NIS 299. The phone does not cost only NIS 299; after this one-time fee, the purchaser must pay NIS 69.90 a month for two years, including a monthly service fee. The ads also do not mention the interest charged, said Cohen, who ordered the ad campaign halted within 24 hours.

Judy Siegel

Winning cards

The winning cards in yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance draw were the eight of spades, ace of hearts, nine of diamonds and queen of clubs.

David Levy questioned as Bar-On probe continues

By BAT SHEVA TSUR
and Jerusalem Post Staff

The investigation into the Bar-On Affair is unlikely to be completed before Purim, two weeks from now, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

State Attorney Edna Arbel is to meet today with Police Investigations Division head Cmdr. Sando Mazon for what was described as a "short update."

Foreign Minister David Levy was questioned for 90 minutes

BAR-ON

yesterday at his office. He was asked about his objections to the appointment of Roni Bar-On as attorney-general at the January 10 cabinet meeting at which the appointment was made. Cabinet secretary Danny Naveh and the prime minister's private secretary, Ruhama Ben-Avraham, were also questioned

yesterday. At this point, there are reported to be differences of opinion between the police and the State Attorney's Office on whether the evidence gathered to date can be translated into indictments against any of those involved in the affair.

Legal experts close to the investigation said yesterday that although for example, the roles of Shas MK Aryeh Deri and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi in the chain of events are clear, the evidence is "borderline and

problematic," from a legal standpoint.

Moreover, there is so far no evidence that the appointment of Bar-On was made a condition for Shas's support of the Hebron agreement, as was claimed in the original Channel 1 report that sparked the investigation.

Police plan to question Hanegbi again at the beginning of next week. Police and prosecutors said yesterday it seems unlikely that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will be questioned again.



Planting Zionist roots

Nati Takuro of the Japanese Makuya, a pro-Israel Christian denomination, plants one of 92 saplings honoring sect members yesterday at a JNF planting center in Jerusalem. (Joe Makom)

Israeli think tank proposes way to end Peruvian hostage crisis

By ARIEN O'SULLIVAN

Peruvian officials are seriously considering a proposal by an Israeli counter-terrorism think tank to peacefully end the 84-day hostage crisis in Lima.

Researchers at the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, headed by former Mossad official including recently retired chief Shabtai Shavit, think the Peruvian government should be more flexible in its concessions.

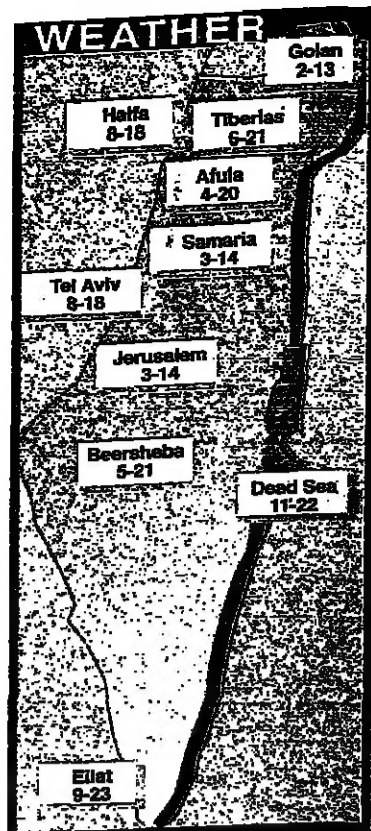
According to the institute's researchers, Boaz Ganor and Ronen Hoffman, Peru should grant the kidnappers asylum and safe departure from Peru. The Peruvian government should also allow an international delegation to inspect the condition of rebel prisoners in Peru.

The leftist Tupac Amaru rebels are holding 72

hostages in the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Lima, and are demanding the freedom of hundreds of jailed comrades. The hostages include Japan's ambassador to Peru and Peruvian officials. But the kidnappers broke off talks last week, after accusing the government of trying to tunnel under the residence.

The institute also proposes that under no circumstances should any prisoners be released and that commandos should not be sent in to rescue the hostages, because it would likely cause a great number of casualties. The proposal was relayed through the Peruvian ambassador to Israel, who told the institute that their proposal was being seriously considered.

Japan, meanwhile, said that a quick-fix solution to the crisis was remote. Church and Canadian officials are currently overseeing the hostage talks.



Forecast: Partly cloudy.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	FORECAST
Amsterdam	03	14	cloudy
Berlin	03	14	cloudy
Brussels	03	14	cloudy
Paris	03	14	cloudy
London	03	14	cloudy
Frankfurt	03	14	cloudy
Geneva	03	14	cloudy
Madrid	03	14	cloudy
Barcelona	03	14	cloudy
Porto	03	14	cloudy
Lisbon	03	14	cloudy
Rome	03	14	cloudy
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Vienna	03	14	cloudy
Zurich	03	14	cloudy

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Disabled say more awareness needed

By ESTHER HECHT

Doron Yehuda rolled in late for the press conference yesterday where he was to be a keynote speaker on problems of the disabled. A car had blocked the only wheelchair-accessible entrance to Jerusalem's Beit Agron, and he couldn't get into the building until someone found the driver and got him to move the car.

The wheelchair-bound encounter indignities like this daily, said Yehuda, chairman of the Coalition of the Disabled in Israel, an organization representing more than 500,000 people. Part of the problem is simple lack of awareness of their special needs.

"We can't get jobs because we can't get into most buildings," he said. "If I do find a job, I can't use the toilets because they're unsuit-

able." Last month, when terrifying footage of the helicopter crash in She'ar Yashuv appeared on TV screens, the country's deaf population was thrown into a panic, said Aharon Eini, chairman of the Association of the Deaf in Israel.

Among the country's 300,000 hearing-impaired people are parents of soldiers serving in Lebanon, but without subtitles or signed translation they could make no sense of the bloody, fiery scenes.

Increased public awareness is important, but it is just the prelude to appropriate legislation, said Ariella Ofir, a lawyer on the public committee examining comprehensive legislation for the disabled.

The committee is to present its findings by May 13 to the Knesset Law Committee.

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The dates: Thursday, Friday, Saturday, April 10, 11, 12, 1997.

The price: NIS 975 per person in a double room. Includes round-trip transportation from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, two breakfasts, two dinners, one lunch (Shabbat), participation in all workshops, discussions, lectures, etc., guided tour with the Be'adin, use of hotel facilities etc. Pick-up and drop-off along the route where possible and arranged beforehand.

Book early as space is limited.

For reservations and further information:
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